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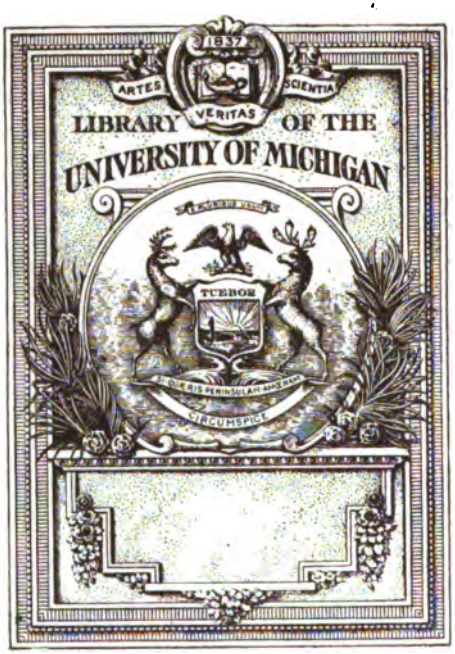
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# WHAT EVERY AMERICAN SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE WAR

# WHAT EVERY AMERICAN SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE WAR

A SERIES OF STUDIES BY THE GREATEST AUTHORITIES OF EUROPE AND AMERICA COVERING EVERY ASPECT OF THE GREAT STRUGGLE, DELIVERED AT THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN LECTURERS

*Washington, D. C., April 8-13, 1918*

EDITED BY

MONTAVILLE FLOWERS

*Chairman of the Conference*

NEW YORK

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# EDITORIAL STATEMENT

## Historical

The purpose of the National Conference of American lecturers, as stated in full in the opening address, is to organize the American platform into power to win the war. The idea was conceived and the method and program were proposed by the writer as president of the International Lyceum Association of America, which took the initiative, assumed the financial responsibility, issued the call, and conducted the Conference as the representative of the largest number of public speakers and organized audiences of any non-partisan, non-sectarian platform in the nation.

Delegates were invited to represent the Lyceums and Chautauquas of the United States and Canada, Departments of the National Government, the American Red Cross, the Council of National Defense, the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, State Councils of Defense, State Boards of Education, Chambers of Commerce, the Societies in the Speaking Division of the Committee on Public Information, and in the National Committee of Patriotic Societies.

The call was issued on February 20, 1918, for a Conference to be held in the nation's Capital, April 8 to 13, 1918. One hundred ninety-two delegates responded and registered, representing eighty-nine different associations from thirty-two American States, two Provinces of Canada, and Newfoundland. Credentials were issued to all delegates alike and invitations were sent to the Members of the Congress of the United States, to the Diplomatic Corps, and to the Administrative Departments of the government.

The program, arranged by the chairman of the Conference, was designed to cover the essential subjects and interests of the war; it continued through six days; for five days, a general Conference of three sessions per day; the sixth day was devoted to three special Conferences, one on Food, conducted by Herbert Hoover, in the Food Administration; one on the work of the Red Cross by Orrin C. Lester, at the Red Cross Memorial; and one on Child Life, by Julia C. Lathrop, head of the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor.



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Each day of the general Conference was devoted to special groups of subjects. Each subject was treated by a group of distinguished men and women who concentrated into their addresses the very essentials of information in the different fields of expert knowledge which they represented. To most of them this request had been written: "Please tell within the time allowed what you most desire the American people to know upon this subject at this time." The result was a succession of great pronouncements carefully prepared and wonderfully presented under which the delegates rose to sublime emotion and enthusiasm, and the Conference took a distinct and powerful place among the institutions of service developed by the emergencies of the war.

This book contains these addresses. It is a highly concentrated, authoritative, broadly grouped and inclusive presentation of the whole war struck off by many great men and women of action; all the subject matter is unified by one great burning impulse to serve the nation and the world in the war.

Every American should know what this book contains. It interprets the past, reveals the present and gives direction for the future. In fact and prophesy, in patriotism and oratory, in plans demanding national and international action, in deeds that make men and nations great, no finer series of studies has ever been included within a single book, for there never has been so great an occasion as this world war to call them forth.

These addresses, although each is complete in itself, should be studied in relation to the groups. Taken together the statements of Serbia, Belgium, France and England, made by their most distinguished official representatives, compose a thrilling review of the case of the country about which the war began, the country that offended not yet suffered all, the country of the first and present vast battle line, and the country that championed first the cause of honor and of liberty.

So the case of the United States is stated in three addresses by Louis Brownlow, Congressman Fess and Senator Owen; the historical and social aspects of the war are seen in five extraordinary addresses by Robert M. McElroy, John Bates Clark, Rev. Father John A. Ryan, William English Walling and Gustavus Myers; the problems, duties and standards of American labor in war time, by Samuel Gompers, Frank Morrison and Louis F. Post; the problem of food by Herbert Hoover, Alonzo E. Taylor and Herbert A. Emerson; the problem of finance by James H. Moyle, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; the problems and duties of industry in the war by Secretary Redfield of the Department of Commerce, and Louis F. Post, As-

sistant Secretary of the Department of Labor; the emergency in education during the war and the changes necessary to educate for the democracy of the future, by Commissioner Philander P. Claxton, George A. Strayer, and Mary C. C. Bradford; the work of women in the war, by Hilda M. Richards, Mary Synon, Kathleen Burke, Mary C. C. Bradford, and Mrs. Frederick Schoff; the meaning and service of the Red Cross by Mrs. Peter D. Crerar, Kathleen Burke, Harvey D. Gibson, John W. Davis and Mrs. J. Borden Harriman. To these groups are added special studies on distinct subjects by John Barrett, Bertram G. Nelson, John H. Francis, Assistant Secretary of War Benedict Crowell, Talcott Williams, Frederick A. Delano, and others. The Conference ended in a detailed study of "Germany's Preparation for the Next War," by J. B. W. Gardiner, Military Expert of the *New York Times*.

For its success the Conference owes thanks, for service rendered, to the following: George Creel and Arthur E. Bestor, of the Committee of Public Information; Orrin C. Lester and the management of the War Council of the Red Cross for the fine compliment of the banquet tendered the Delegates; Herbert Hoover and F. C. Walcott, of the Food Administration; Julia C. Lathrop, of the Children's Bureau, Department of Labor; Paul M. Pearson, Chairman of the Committee on Attendance; S. Eugene Whiteside, Chairman of the Committee on Finance; Rainey Bennett, Secretary, and Paul Kemerer, Treasurer of the International Lyceum Association.

### The Future of the National Conference

Before the close of the second day the delegates were enthusiastic in their belief that a new institution with great possibilities had been created. As the Declaration of Independence and the American Nation itself, unthought of before Lexington, were developed during the progress of the Revolution; as the Emancipation Proclamation, unplanned before Sumter, was evolved in the progress of the war for the Union, so epoch-making forces will come out of this war. This Conference may be one of them. The editor of a newspaper in Washington expressed in conversation this view as follows: "The National Conference of American Lecturers came to Washington on Monday morning wholly unknown; by Tuesday morning Washington had discovered that it was a new governmental institution; not an institution of the administration, not a political institution, but a governmental institution through which public opinion had found a national voice." Upon the fifth day the delegates voted

unanimously that the Conference should be developed into a permanent institution and the chairman was authorized to make the preliminary arrangements for the Conference of 1919.

There is a distinct place and a great work for this National Conference which is not now assumed by any other. The Lyceums and Chautauquas provide large opportunity for public discussion throughout the nation, but their management, their function, and their results are often cast in local thought, and they are in no wise wholly devoted to the consideration of fundamental, national and international interests. Likewise, other forums, the college, the sectarian and occasional platforms, the political stump and the Halls of Congress, all have sharp limitations of function, of opportunity, of subject matter, of partisanship, of effect.

We need one National Platform to focus all these agencies of the spoken word into a great national voice to discuss those vast subjects—historical, governmental, economic, industrial and social—which form the body of our common interests and define our national life.

The National Conference must be true to name and to principle. It must have no commercial interests, no political relations; it must advertise nothing; it must promote no propaganda. Born of patriotism in war and dedicated to national service, the general welfare is its aim and truth its weapon. The subjects discussed in the first Conference suggest the range and caliber of its future work.

Such a National Conference speaking without color of partisanship may become the Schoolmaster of the Republic, teaching the Preachers of Democracy the lessons of the common good. Thus it will develop a body of National statesmen who, trained to solve all problems by the processes of world thought, will form a conserving force in great emergencies to steady and lift national action with the long lever of prophetic wisdom supported by the counsels of the great.

Such an institution will command the support of the finest American genius and the audience of the whole world. It will become a powerful and righteous influence in the development of a better civilization.

MONTAVILLE FLOWERS,
*Chairman of the Conference.*

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# I: THE WORLD AT WAR

# I: THE WORLD AT WAR

## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

By Montaville Flowers,

*President of the International Lyceum and Chautauqua Association of America, Chairman of the Conference*

The greatest problem in the world is now, as it always has been, to find a perfect balance between the two extremes of government and liberty. Government at its extreme is represented by the despotic Pharaoh, who used upon his personal caprice the labors, lives and liberties of his family, his subjects and his slaves. It has progressed through limited and constitutional monarchy, representative democracy, and pure democracy,—the liberty of the individual enlarging upon the way, until liberty itself at its extreme often runs riot into license and anarchy.

That was the problem before the founders of our government when they were framing the Constitution of the United States. It was to find that poised center where government would yield its maximum of power and service, and leave to the individual its maximum of liberty and initiative; and the Constitution has been called "the greatest document ever struck off within a given time by the brain of man," and the framers of that document stand out above all other groups in the annals of politics, because of the near approach they made to a perfect solution of that great problem.

These two tendencies seem to inhere in human nature; one tendency which leads a man to grasp at absolute control over all of his fellow men, and the other tendency which leads a man to run away from any control by any of his fellow men. And it seems to be the contingencies of country, birth and circumstance which determine whether the individual shall take the one road to absolutism or the other road to anarchy.

This struggle between the extremes of government and liberty has appeared within all nations in historic times, but by and by one of these tendencies gains ascendency and comes into full fruitage, so that whole peoples and nations become definitely

characterized either as patriarchal, despotic and autocratic in their institutions, or they are free, liberty-loving and democratic.

Now, when people become so characterized, it is inevitable that they shall come into conflict. Wherever liberty has dared to raise the torch of hope, there a battleground has been dedicated. But the scenes of this great conflict are found mostly in the north temperate zone, where climate stimulates enterprise and inculcates the principle of change. The peoples of this zone do not live millenniums without changing their governments, as do the peoples of the torrid zone and of the far east. For a thousand years it has been the chief game of these peoples to modify and change their governments as children, at play, build up their block houses, tear them down and build them up again. But within the last four hundred years two new tendencies have come into play and greatly have modified this game. One is the increasing tendency of one nation to get out of its boundaries and to interfere with the governmental forms of its neighbors; the other is the universal intercourse of all peoples with their consequent conflict of material interests. These two factors entering into the old struggle between government and liberty, account for the vast turmoil of the world war.

For heretofore the conflict between government and liberty has always expressed itself in a revolution within one state, wherein a group of people carrying the advance of liberty have been struggling with the group of people who were maintaining the absolute of government. But to-day we find ourselves in the universal explosion of war between a group of great states representing the best of liberty, and a group of states representing the extreme of government. Now, as liberty at its best springs wholly out of honor and right, and government at its worst rests only on fear and might, it is impossible that these two groups of states can longer run in parallel lines. They have crossed roads and crossed swords. The world is at grips to-day in a titanic struggle to determine which of these two great principles shall come uppermost and direct the destinies of the nations in the centuries just ahead.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have met in a conference at the seat of our government to study this great conflict. The purpose of this conference is to bring into review the vast complex of facts and activities which have been developed by this world-war. It is to be, furthermore, a training camp for the men and women on the American platform, to equip them for the new duties and emergencies of the hour; that they may be highly informed on what is being done in the world in order to lead the instruction of the people in how to win the war; that they may

catch the vision of what is to be and herald it to the people; and that while pointing the way to win in war we may lay down the foundations for the reconstruction of society in peace.

Great as is the power of the press, it must be reënforced and supplemented by the appeal of the spoken word. For perception is clearer, emotions rise higher, and resolution springs into quickest action in crowds where men and women, touching elbows, listening to the same thoughts, feeling the same emotions, and aglow with the same fire, are molded into a solid power for mass action.

In former times the spoken word was the only means by which mass action might be obtained, and in our country, in these times, through the institutions which have been developed by a free press, a free school, and a free platform—free speech still has all of its original force.

Among those institutions so developed are the Lyceum and Chautauqua, and these institutions have come to the seat of government to dedicate themselves with all of their strength and all of their soul wholly to the service of our government in this emergency. And we have asked all other organizations that are trying to create national public opinion by the spoken word to join us in this national conference of speakers which is aimed at that high efficiency which comes only through organization and a full understanding of all the purposes, methods and activities that are in the field.

I congratulate you who have answered this call upon your participation in this national conference. Bearing as you do a large share of the deep responsibility of molding that public opinion which is to sustain the nation in war and to help determine its conditions of peace—it is highly desirable, indeed it is necessary, that we assemble here in Washington to receive instruction and inspiration from our great administrators of the government and from the most capable students of world problems; and that so far as it is wise, and possible, we may coördinate our ideas and the messages which we are to carry throughout the nation.

Thus, ladies and gentlemen, in the wisdom of great councils, with full knowledge, sound statesmanship, and a burning patriotism that has been kindled at the very seat of patriotism, let us go forth from our nation's capital to the American platform to lead the way to decisive victory in this war, to perfect national life and to permanent international peace.

## THE FIELD OF PUBLICITY

By George Creel,

*Chairman, Committee on Public Information*

If I have given you the support that Mr. Flowers has said, it is because I have a very deep appreciation of the service that you can render to the national cause, and I want you, every man and woman of you, to understand it too, so that when you go back across the country you may be messengers of government who will aid here behind the firing lines as courageously and as devotedly as the soldier and sailor on the firing line, because one of the most amazing developments of modern warfare is that psychology has been called in to the aid of science. We realize to-day that public opinion and public sentiment are vital powers in the national defense and a very important part in the national attack. The strength of the firing line is not entirely in the trench, or in the barricade, but it is also in the morale of the civilian population from which the firing line is drawn. If we are united here at home, if we have indomitable resolution, if we have our people standing shoulder to shoulder, willing to make every sacrifice, we are going to have soldiers at the front who will not fail us in the hour of need. But if we allow ourselves to be torn by discontent, by peevishness, by knocking, by partisanship, by racial prejudice, by a warfare of creeds, we are going to fail on the firing line, because we will sap the very foundation of its strength.

And so, in coming before you this morning, it is my privilege to bid you go across the country in unity of thought and purpose.

It is for the education of public opinion that the Committee on Public Information exists. Unfortunately, an amazing superstition has grown up in this country that the committee has been instituted merely for censorship purposes, and not for constructive reasons. Why, there has not been a day in the whole year that we have been at work that our accent has not been on expression, and that we have not done everything in our power to open up the business of the government to the inspection of one hundred and ten millions of people so that they may realize that this is their war and not a war of the administration or of any of the other war making branches of the government.

Always,—and this goes for peace as well as for war,—we believe that public support is a matter of public understanding, and those people who try to work in secrecy are people who have not the good judgment to trust democratic common sense.

Now this attempt to inform the people all over the United States and all over the world is being carried on in various forms,—by the spoken word, by the written word, on the screen, and by aeroplanes that drop matter from the skies. Why, in the preparation of our literature we have gathered together over three thousand historians. In the Four Minute Men alone we have 21,000 speakers. A speaking division coördinates what may be called "national voices," and sends them from coast to coast. We have organized all the foreign language groups in the country in various divisions to combat the racial problem with a steady stream of argument both written and spoken. Our representatives are in every capital of the world, in every country, trying to make clear America's sincerity of purpose. From the wireless station at Tuckerton are flashed a thousand words a day to the Eiffel Tower, and from the Eiffel Tower to Berne, to Rome, to Madrid and to Lisbon. Our cable service to London meets the need of England, Scandinavia and Holland. From Tuckerton also a service goes to Darien for the South and Central American countries. We send our messages also by telegraph to San Diego, from San Diego to Cavite, from Cavite to Shanghai and to Tokio, also from Shanghai to Pekin, and from Pekin to Vladivostok, so we get our information into Russia in that other way.

Our appeals are written on the ground in Russia, and from there sent by messengers across the line into the enemy country by aeroplane and over Russia itself to the villages and cities. Our messages are taken into the theaters, and by motion pictures we show the industrial, commercial and war progress of our country. We have speakers going through prison camps trying to drive home to the German prisoners the right and justice of the position that America has taken. To all the subject races of Austria-Hungary we have tried to show that every blow they strike for Germany rivets the chains of their slavery. We have been trying through all these lands to drive home the sincerity of purpose of America, and that the only hope of the world lies in a peace that is permanent because it is based in justice. Both in Europe and all over the United States we are carrying on this work.

I have always had the feeling that, as far as possible, we must develop private initiative if we are to go forward to the best advantage in this struggle. I think there is nothing more

dangerous than to have everything dictated from Washington, to have the country put on a diet of spoon feeding, as it were. What we want to do is to get people to carry on the work themselves, not as a part of government, but in coöperation with government. I have always had the feeling that the Chautauqua could do a great work, not by abandoning the old task, but by doing the old task in a new way, a new spirit, the spirit of to-day. And that's what every one of you can do,—go through the country preaching the new message, and setting forth the new truths and doctrines upon which we are building our future.

It has been said, I believe it was said of me and everybody in the United States who did not like blood as a beverage, that we were pacifists. Well, I think that every sane man in the United States is a pacifist in the sense that he hates war. But if they mean by "pacifist" one who is not willing to fight to-day in defense of his free institutions, in defense of humanity, and of a free civilization, they lie when they call us pacifists, and we, above all other people, say there is no room in America to-day for that sort of a pacifist.

Always in every national crisis you see two great divisions. On one side are those who have no time for the petty personal hates, who consecrate their souls to a sworn resolution. On the other side are those who give themselves over to the easy business of hating, and whose conception of patriotism is no more than Chauvinism, a desire to express themselves in vociferous rantings, mob riot, and race hatred, and all that is cheap and demoralizing. We have no room to-day for that in America. There must be understanding of why we went to war. You would think that everybody in the whole United States would understand it. And yet there are thousands who are in ignorance of the fundamental facts.

For three years we waited—for three years we had every hope that those sane processes of adjustment that civilization and international law have provided would bring an end to this horror that was incredible to us. Why, it seemed that no people in the world could be quite so mad as to destroy the very foundations of the civilization that we have been erecting through the slow centuries. And it was only when the sea was filled with our dead, when ancient law was set aside, when the torch and bomb were applied to our peaceful industries, and when we saw that the Imperial German Government was dead to honor, decency and humanity, that we took the sword.

And so I say you will find to-day attack on every hand. You will observe men like blind Samsons trying to find weak places in the temple, willing to tear it down and bury themselves

in the ruins so they may destroy those whom they hate. And they will ask you, why didn't we go to war before it was "too late, too late!" They will demand why, when Belgium was invaded, we did not rush into the war with Germany. You know, and I know, and every human being knows, that it was a year before the horror of Belgium came home to us, that when the Belgian Commission came to this country in September, not a voice was raised in the press, or in Congress, to say, "Let us take the part of outraged Belgium." We could not understand it, and a year went by, and as outrages piled up, our feeling grew; but we were resolved to justify ourselves as a nation by exhausting every resource of international law and established procedure to bring about an adjustment, because those were the things to which we were appealing, and when at last, as I say, we took the sword it was after three years, during which every person in the United States understood or was made to understand that there was no other resource, that this was a war, not for Belgium, not for ourselves, not for Serbia, but a war of self-defense.

I want you to try to bring home to people that this is not a war of chivalry. Thank God, we are fighting on the side of humanity. Thank God, we are fighting for all that civilization has taught us to hold dear. But nevertheless this is a war of self-defense, to determine whether we are to have the right to endure as free people or as vassals. So, as I say, the thing to do to-day is to preserve unity, and the preservation of unity lies in bringing home the truth, in meeting the lies that are fostered by pro-Germanism on the one side and by partisanship on the other. I listened to a speech the other night by a man who was indicting America passionately on the ground that everything had been done too late. This speaker asked why we had not been at war three years ago.

In the greatest crisis in history, the critics have said, we had no men ready, no guns, no aeroplanes built or equipped for service, and insist that if we had had 17,000 aeroplanes on the Western front right now the victory would be ours and not the defeat that seems to be staring the Allies in the face.

There are one or two things that I want to take up with some degree of particularity. First, the question of our state of preparedness when we went to war on April 6. We were not prepared, and I shall always be proud to my dying day that there was no rush of preparation in this country prior to the day the President went before Congress and said, "We are driven to accept a state of war by the aggressions of the German Government." For to have held out offers of peace with one hand

and drawn a sword with the other, to have affirmed our devotion to peace and all the while have been preparing for war, would have been to give the lie to our declaration that we would not employ force until we had exhausted every resource at our command for peaceful redress.

But when we did enter the war, our decisions were instant and effective. Inside of one month after war was declared, the traditional policy of the United States was set aside by the enactment of the Selective Service Law. On June 5th a million men were registered without any protest. In September, ninety days after the driving of the first nail, we had thirty-two great cities ready for occupancy by the selected men. You will hear much ado made over the fact that a few overcoats were lacking, etc., but no one has ever yet said that food was lacking, that health precautions were lacking. When you think of the paper-soled shoes, the embalmed beef, and the typhoid camps of the Spanish-American War, and all the graft and nastiness incident to that struggle, I tell you it is a tremendous thing that to-day billions of dollars have been expended without a cent of graft having been levied; that not a life has been lost by the government's negligence, and that your boys, when they go into the camps, are assured of medical care, assured of food, assured of attention that has never been given to men as individuals before, much less than in the mass.

Pershing landed his staff in France on July 3rd. To-day thousands upon thousands are pouring across the ocean to take their part, and although it has been the custom of the foreign governments not to put their men on the firing line without at least a year's training, to-day American soldiers are playing their part on that great battle line in France.

They will tell you about ordnance, that we had no rifles, that our boys were equipped with broom-sticks when we went to war. As a matter of fact, we had six hundred thousand Springfields and one hundred thousand Krag-Jorgereons, and if we had thought it imperative we could have put a rifle in the hands of every man in the camps. What we thought, even as England thought, was that in those first few days the rudimentary training that could be gotten from the slob-sticks would serve the purpose. I insist that only a psycho-analyst could find a difference between those sticks and real rifles for those early days of training. And the people who complained are seeking not to win the war, but to win another kind of a campaign at a later date!

We found that the English in this country had developed factories for the production of the Enfield rifle, and it would have

been stupid indeed to have persisted in manufacturing the Springfield rifle, so we accepted the Enfield as our rifle, with modifications. That is, we needed to rechamber the gun in order to use our ammunition, and we found it necessary to make it more rapid in firing, and so to-day you will find that we have a rifle that is said by every one to be the best in the world. It fires two bullets to the German Mauser's one! From April 1st to this April, one million of these rifles were manufactured and to-day they can be produced at the rate of fifty thousand a week, ample for every need.

There is also the criticism that we had no machine guns in France, cited as another proof of our failure. We found that the French machine guns were supposed to be the best in the world at that time, and we said, "We will take your gun and use it for our purpose while we are working on one that will meet our needs." And so we did not have the American guns in France during the last few months because we were using a French gun as a result of Allied suggestion; and all the time we were working on the Browning, our own gun, and to-day the Browning gun is the marvel of the war. In its last test it fired twenty thousand rounds in forty-five minutes. A lighter gun does not have to be set up; but can be shot from the hips if necessary. Now we are producing machine guns at the rate of two hundred twenty-five thousand a year.

They said also that we had no heavy guns in France. You must understand this, that we did not go into this war in any bumptious way, but in a spirit somewhat of humility. As far as the knowledge and leadership of France and England were concerned, we said to them, "You have been fighting for three years; we will take your advice," and we asked, "What about heavy artillery?" and they said, "We have more than we can handle, more than we know what to do with, and instead of burdening your tonnage with shipments, let us use ours, so we can keep our factories going and employ our labor." And so in the last few months we placed two billion and a half dollars' worth of orders with those factories, and while those were made in France and England they were our guns that did their part!

And there is a peculiar lie now being foisted upon the country to the effect that we were so picayunish, indeed so trivial in our approaches, that when the French "·75," one of the great pieces of artillery in the war, came over here, we have not developed any of them or manufactured any of them, because we were trying to "improve" upon it. What is the truth? When we got them over here we found the recoil mechanism of such a nature that there was not a factory in the United States that

could turn it out, and so before we could begin manufacturing we had to go to work and try to develop factories for the production of this mechanism. And so we have gone ahead and made that mechanism and are now ready to produce the French "·75." This is an answer to the lies that have been uttered on that score.

As I say, this is not pacifism or pro-Germanism entirely, but due to the fact that we are a very impatient people and a people who have always thought very highly of ourselves. By persistent reiteration we have come to believe that we are the greatest people in the world. We do not ask anybody to prove it; we admit it!

Now there is a decent self-confidence that I would not have lessened in one degree, but at the same time sometimes after you have made your boasts, and when no human being can possibly live up to the expectations aroused by them, we try to find some one to destroy.

It is much the way with the aeroplane business. On many hands we hear the absurdity that one hundred thousand planes can be sent to the battlefront in France. Why, do you know that not at any time in the whole history of the war has either side ever been able to put more than twenty-five hundred planes in the air at a time? And when people talk about fifty thousand planes or seventy-five thousand planes, why, they not only shame their country, but they destroy our own morale, because they build up expectations that no human being can meet. Every plane in the air must have forty-seven men on the ground to take care of it.

There is a need to understand why we put so much time on the Liberty Motor. It was so there might be standardization to allow us to cut down this number of men on the ground to, say, fifteen or twenty; and to-day I tell you the Liberty Motor is one hundred per cent. perfect! And within a week these people who are running here and there shouting criticisms at the government will have to admit that it is indeed a great motor.

The aeroplane program has of course been subjected to many unavoidable delays. Think of the difficulties incident to the carrying out of that great program. We had to go into the spruce woods of the Northwest and compose labor difficulties before we could proceed with the work. We had to build new sawmills. We had to invent new kinds of saws with which to do the work, saws that would follow the grain and make all the material available instead of only a fractional part. We had to find new acids, to develop great factories, to get lubricating oil; we had to get farms and plant 85,000 acres of castor beans.

There was the question of housing also, concentrating men at certain points. Hundreds of delicate parts and new chemicals were to be developed. But within thirty days our aeroplane program should be announced and it will deserve the confidence of the American people, and will play its part in bringing the victory and deserving the credit that every other department of the government is deserving!

Now as to the Navy of the United States. Less than a year ago it had a fighting force of eighty-three thousand men. To-day it has a fighting force of three hundred and fifty thousand.

To-day there are one thousand vessels in commission; we have taken over seven hundred by charter and purchase and eight hundred and fifty are building. Our war fleet and our destroyers are in the foreign waters helping guard the commerce of the world. And whether in the waters abroad or in the waters adjacent to our own country the Navy of the United States is regarded as worthy of all dependence; and I call your attention to the fact that for five years the Navy of the United States was shamed and derided and the man at its head made the subject of attacks more vicious than any other public servant of the present administration. If I single him out for particular mention it is because I feel that the whole nation owes an apology to Josephus Daniels.

Take the shipping question. With regard to this matter there has been considerable criticism. We had to go to work and build hundreds of new ways, new yards; we had to develop new methods to meet the various new needs of water transportation. We had to develop new workers and take others away from the structural iron work and bring them into the shipyards. And here again there was the acute problem of housing. And yet to-day that tremendous task is going forward, and I think the tonnage problem will be met.

All of these things are new to America. They are on a scale of unprecedented magnitude, and in the discharge of this task no mere question of party allegiance has been considered. As I say, I have been here a year, and never at any time have I heard any man in connection with the administration or any other man engaged in war work who ever thought in terms of Republicanism or Democracy. Look over these people who are doing the work; you will find there that men have been called without regard to party. And what is being done to-day is not the work of a party but the work of a citizenship.

As I say, we heap shame upon the slacker, but lower than the lowest slacker is the man to-day who thinks in terms of party or partisan advantage!

I say in one year we have discharged a great task well, and I would not have you or any one else minimize the tremendousness of the dangers that we face. It will not do to underestimate the foe. We are going up against the greatest military power that the world has ever seen, a power that for twenty-five years, for fifty years even, has devoted its every thought to military preparation, has devoted its whole life to the manufacture of soldiers; and to-day they have a mighty machinery that is going to take perhaps our last dollar, our last life, in the effort to defeat. But I think the President's message in Baltimore has made it clear to every one of you that we did not wait for three years, we did not wait to prove the justice of our cause, only to compromise that cause. We will never settle this war until we settle it right! No matter what any other nation in the whole world may do, we will never consent to a peace that is simply a peace of compromise. The only peace that we can possibly stand for is a permanent peace based upon absolute justice. These people shall have died in vain if it is no more than a breathing spell. We desire nothing for ourselves that we do not desire for the whole world. No thought of revenge or conquest actuates us, but only a deep determination that this horror shall be lifted from the world, that never again shall people be compelled to live with a sword in their hands. We fight for a peace that is not shadowed by autocracy. We fight for the right of the world to go about its business in safety, that children may have an opportunity to grow up in happiness. And, having drawn the sword, we shall never sheathe it until justice and righteousness and truth are established forever on the earth.

This is the spirit I want you to go abroad in, not a spirit of hate or boasting, but with a deep conviction that we are in this fight to win, not for ourselves, but for the world, for the future of civilization! I thank you.

# THE CASE OF SERBIA

By Mr. Lioubomir Michailovitch,

*The Minister from Serbia*

The International Lyceum Association has made it its duty to create a well informed current of public opinion on the question of what it means to win the war. This is very opportune. I feel very much honored in being invited to say a few words to this distinguished audience about the present war as far as it concerns my country and, at the same time, our common interests.

The Serbian question has always been considered a complicated one, and its solution, as part of the Balkan problem, has been regarded as offering the greatest difficulty. It has, in the last decades, given so much trouble to the great powers that the opinion has been created that the Serbian element, with its conationals, the Croats and Slovenes, is a restless and turbulent one, which, by its action, is threatening to disturb the peace of the world.

Our enemies, now yours, Austria and Germany, have skillfully given our people such a reputation that it was known in America as the country of scandals. The Serbians have been unable to counteract this powerful enemy propaganda, and the people of America adopted its views without discussion, as being from a well informed source.

It required the present great catastrophe to arouse interest in Serbia and the Serbians, or, perhaps it would be better to say, in the Southern-Slav problem and give us the right and the possibility of describing to our friends our sufferings and our aspirations.

The history of our people is the story of its continuous struggle for existence. The Southern-Slavs, living as they do on the main route which connects Europe with Asia, had in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to defend this highway against the invasion of the Turkish barbarians toward the west, and now it defends it against the German-Hungarian invasion toward the east.

Five centuries ago they sacrificed their independence in their resistance to the Turks, thus fulfilling their duty to Christian

Europe. A great French historian declared that the Southern-Slavs made a bulwark of their breasts to protect civilization against barbarism and that it was for this reason that they could not coöperate in the progress of the world, though they have been its pioneers.

In the present struggle Serbia has again sacrificed her independence and has fulfilled her duty to the civilized world, because, by her resistance, she has contributed to stem the invasion of the enemies of civilization. But for Bulgarian treachery, Serbia would have probably withstood the German-Hungarian onslaught.

The geographical situation of the country in which our people are living and the aspirations of certain barbarous tribes—the Turks in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and now the Germans, Hungarians and Bulgarians—to conquer the east and west, are the main reasons for the tragic fate of the Southern-Slav element. We have constantly resisted these barbarous invasions, and in the struggle we were enslaved.

But at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in the center of the Slav element, a little, independent Serbia was created. The brave sons of our province of Shoomadia, taking advantage of the decay of the Turkish Empire, rose against their oppressors and organized an independent state, which was recognized as such by the Berlin Congress in 1878. But only one-third of our people were thereby freed from a foreign yoke, and the remaining two-thirds were left under Turkish and Austrian dominion.

The Balkan war of 1912-13 definitely liberated the Serbian element from the rule of the Turk. There still remained, however, the question of the liberation of those elements of our race which are under the rule of Austria-Hungary. The fact that after the Balkan wars, the Southern-Slav question was raised in Austria-Hungary was one of the principal causes of the present world war.

Germany has endeavored to secure for herself a route towards the east through Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria. But Serbia, as well as the Southern-Slav element in Austria-Hungary, was not disposed to be the agent of these German designs. All the attempts by Germany and Austria-Hungary to establish their influence in Serbia did not succeed. Serbia has been fighting for thirty years against these tendencies. During that time she had to pass through very serious internal troubles, one of which certainly is also known to you: the tragedy of King Alexander Obrenovitch, through whom Austria-Hungary tried to break the resistance of the Serbian people. It is necessary to point out here that even Serbia's friends did not understand this

struggle, and that they knew but little about the real reasons for it. Serbia was in a very difficult position and had to choose either to become an accomplice of Germany, as had been the case with her neighbors, Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria, or to resist these designs of Germany openly and with all her might. She has chosen this latter course, and we are now able to see that she was right, because all of you were compelled to join in fighting against these German desires of world domination and supremacy.

Together with Serbia our element in Austria-Hungary was fighting the German ambition and lust of conquest. In Croatia, Slovenia, Istria, Bosnia and Dalmatia, the Southern-Slavs had openly protested and fought against this German-Hungarian dominion. The attempts upon the lives of their Austrian oppressors and in connection with it the scandalous campaign for treason against the leaders of our people were as many proofs of the determination of our nation to fight to the bitter end the designs of Germany.

Germany knew that the liberation and union of the Southern-Slav elements, which are opposed to these ambitions, would have prevented the realization of the German plan for world dominion. Germany, therefore, decided upon the destruction of Serbia as the representative and standard-bearer of the Southern-Slav idea. She was only looking for a pretext. This she found in the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand; and the great world war was started.

I do not intend to explain here all that Serbia did in order that this great conflagration should be avoided. When on the twenty-third of July, 1914, Austria addressed to Serbia the well known ultimatum, my country knew that her powerful neighbor desired war. But she also knew that this war would set fire to the whole of Europe. She therefore decided to make every concession in order to avoid this tremendous conflict.

Serbia consented to imprison innocent people; to discharge from the army officers who had committed no crime; to suppress patriotic societies; to offer apologies for deeds of which no one in Serbia was guilty; to revise the program of her schools and even to change a paragraph of the constitution in order to be able to suppress liberty of speech and of the press as was demanded by Austria-Hungary.

Serbia thus consented to impose upon her people a reactionary system of government, thereby submitting to the greatest humiliation for an independent state, and this only in order to avoid this terrible war. She could not succeed in this because Germany and Austria desired war. Serbia barred the route which leads

towards Bagdad, and as she would not consent to be an accomplice of Germany in the latter's ambition to conquer the world, she had to be crushed.

Unfortunately, except Serbia there was no other state in the Balkans which was ready to resist the German plan. Not only this, Bulgaria openly joined the Central Powers, and by her treacherous attack on Serbia greatly contributed to the destruction of that country and the realization of the German plan.

At this point I may state that American public opinion often has a wrong comprehension of the Bulgarian alliance with Germany, ascribing it to Bulgaria's hatred of Serbia or to the supposed aspirations of Bulgaria to a certain part of Macedonia. This is absolutely wrong. The Balkan problem is not a problem of Macedonia, it is a question of German supremacy, the movement known as the "Drang Nach Osten."

Austria-Hungary as ally of Germany took advantage of the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand as a pretext to start war, while Bulgaria made her so-called national aspirations a pretext for throwing in her lot with the Central Powers. They together attacked Serbia, the only opponent of Germany's plans in the Balkans.

Was it not absurd for Bulgaria to become the ally of Germany for the realization of her national aspirations? But we have only to consider one fact; that Bulgaria is fighting as the ally of Germany and Austria-Hungary. The present war is a conflict between two groups of peoples and of their combined efforts. There is not any question of how this effort has been disguised or under what pretext any state has joined one of these groups.

The military action and its result will be due to this common effort. In the same way, the political result of this struggle will be the final application of the principles of the group which shall triumph. To fight on the side of Germany and at the same time to declare that one does not approve of her political aims is, to say the least, inconsistent.

It is immaterial for the success of the military action of the Allied troops and of the troops of the United States what the political relations between the powers composing the enemy group may be. What is important, is that the full military strength of our enemies is arrayed against us and that we have to fight it, if we desire to vanquish them.

On any point of the front, be it in France, in Italy or on the Salonica front, the enemy is always one and the same. Whether the Allies have against them, at any given point, Bulgarian or German troops is immaterial for military action. Finally we must not forget that it was solely on account of Bulgarian coöp-

eration that the Central Powers were able to overrun Serbia, and that by her action the route to Asia Minor has been opened to Germany.

The Balkan problem—and in connection with it the Serbian or Southern-Slav problem—is, from an international point of view, very simple. The Balkan Peninsula is the route which connects the east with the west, and all the invading hordes which have tried to achieve the conquest of the world had to pass by it. It is therefore necessary to create such conditions in the Balkan Peninsula as will allow the peoples inhabiting it to develop themselves freely, as this is the only guarantee that they will be able to resist the aggressive designs of any power.

The Southern-Slav element, once liberated and united, would be the surest bulwark against any fresh attempt on the part of Germany to impose her Kultur by force of arms.

Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, says in his introduction to the book, "Southeastern Europe": "The erection of the South Slav state will not only bring a noble and long-suffering people under the rule of free institutions, but it will put an end forever to that Teutonic dream of a 'Mittel Europa,' which has played so large a part in the planning and carrying on of the present war."

But the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes consider that they have the right to liberate themselves from foreign yokes also in conformity with the principle of the self-determination of peoples. Our nation does not claim anything that does not belong to it. The Declaration of Corfu, signed on July 20, 1917, by the Serbian Government and the representatives of the section of our people still under the Austro-Hungarian dominion, states:

"The territory of the Croats, Serbs and Slovenes will comprise all the territory on which our nation lives in compact masses and without discontinuity and where it could not be mutilated without injuring the vital interests of the community. Our nation does not ask for anything which belongs to others and only claims that which belongs to it. It desires to free itself and establish its unity. That is why it firmly rejects every partial solution of the problem of its freedom from Austro-Hungarian domination."

This solution of the Southern-Slav problem is the only correct and just one. By its very nature it includes the solution of the Austrian problem without which there can be no lasting peace. The existence of Austria-Hungary is the fault of Europe, which thought that it was necessary for the maintenance of the world's

peace. In spite of the experience of Italy during the wars she fought for her unity and the experience of France in 1870, and Russia in 1878, there still exists the belief that an Austria-Hungary would have to be created if it did not already exist.

As a matter of fact Austria-Hungary has been the direct cause of the present war. Owing to the existing conditions she has been the agent of German militarism. To-morrow, after this war is over, she may, if she should be maintained merely to save her existence as a dynastic monarchy, become the agent of some other imperialism. Nor could she exist on any other basis, because she is composed of elements which do not desire to be ruled by her.

There is at present an open movement of the Czecho-Slovacs and of the Southern-Slavs for the creation of independent states. The Austrian question must be solved if there is to be peace in Europe. This question will not be difficult of solution if the right of self determination be given to the small nationalities.

The greatest tragedy of a small people that could be imagined is the present position of the Southern-Slavs. They are compelled, in the ranks of the Austrian and Bulgarian armies, to fight against their own brothers in the ranks of the Serbian army. They are also compelled to devastate their own country, and any one who should refuse to do so is liable to the death penalty.

Our nation is fighting and is being sacrificed on both sides. Our people are moreover being executed in Serbia as well as in Bosnia, Croatia and Dalmatia. Our nation is being systematically destroyed and our country is under the yoke of German, Austrian and Bulgarian authorities. This is the fate of a nation which refused to consent to be a tool of German imperialism and which preferred to sacrifice its liberty rather than its honor.

But our people are convinced that all these sacrifices will bring them liberty and union and that they will secure the right to organize and develop themselves according to their own desires. The Serbian people do not consider the present war as a struggle for the rights of one group against those of another, but see in it the victory of liberty and democratic principles against brute force and imperialism.

The victory in which Serbia, as representative of the Southern-Slavs, firmly believes, means the duty of organizing society on such principles as will secure for it in the future progress and free development. For this victory Serbia has sacrificed everything that a nation could sacrifice and is ready, with all of her remaining force, to keep up the struggle to the bitter end and to the last man.

The United States entered this war with all the strength of

its young manhood to help to extinguish the great fire in old Europe, where the last remnants of corrupt institutions are being consumed in the flames, and on the ruins of which will be built up a new society, with free and progressive ideas which are so brilliantly professed by all classes of the great American people. The United States entered the conflict sincerely and openly for the defense of the great principles of liberty. The Allies hailed this resolute move of the American people with enthusiasm because it brought a powerful ally into the struggle.

The Central Powers and their satellites received the news with much concern, because their new enemy does not only threaten them with its military force but also with the strength of the just principles it represents. The United States to-day is giving splendid help to those who are fighting against the criminal designs of the powers who aim at conquering the world by sheer force of arms.

The sacrifices made by your nation are such as must assure the triumph of the principles which were the direct reason for its entry into the war. These generous sacrifices which the United States is making to-day would not be justified if they did not lead to the realization of these principles. We consider that the winning of the war by the United States does not only mean the defeat of the enemy but the victory which will assure a new organization of the society of nations on new social and political principles. It is for these reasons, ladies and gentlemen, that Serbia is confident and believes in this victory and also in her better future.

## THE CASE OF BELGIUM

By Mr. E. de Cartier de Marchienne,

*The Minister from Belgium*

To-day is our King's birthday. He is forty-three years old to-day, and on this very auspicious day it is a double pleasure for me to address a few remarks on the attitude of my country, on the reason why we are in this war.

I deeply appreciate the privilege which I have to-day, of addressing this distinguished assemblage of speakers and lecturers who have the important task of molding the minds of the people of your great country—the Land of Liberty.

The principles which you have always stood for, and for which you are again fighting, are the principles which have always animated my little country and for which we, too, are again fighting, shoulder to shoulder, with your own brave boys. We are fighting for freedom and independence. Your soldiers will not come back until it is all over over there; neither will ours lay down their arms until the world is made safe for honest people. I need hardly tell you that Belgium entered this war to maintain her honor and her freedom, and to uphold her plighted word.

Germany offered us a shameful bargain. She offered to spare our country and to indemnify us, if we would let her pass through to accomplish her crime against our neighbor and her neighbor, France. She wished to make us an accomplice in her crime, and she gave us twelve hours in which to make up our minds. That was eleven hours and fifty-nine minutes too much. We spurned her base offer. We have suffered, but we have no regrets. After all, as your great statesman, Benjamin Franklin, said, "Honesty is the best policy," and as a still higher authority has said, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" We have upheld our plighted word, we have maintained our honor, and we have maintained our freedom . . . for, in spite of the fact that our enemy has taken temporary possession of all except about three hundred square miles of our territory, our souls are free and every Belgian heart throbs with devotion to our country and to our beloved King.

Having tried in vain to bribe us by offers of immunity, after finding their offers refused with scorn, the Germans resorted to violence and intimidation. As one of their own poets, Goethe, has said: "The Prussian was born a brute, and civilization will make him ferocious." The truth of that prophecy was shown in the scientific and systematic way in which our towns were destroyed, our peaceful civilians ruthlessly massacred and our women and children subjected to nameless wrongs. You all know the story . . . although many of the details cannot be told until our witnesses are freed from the menacing claw of the German Eagle. I will not now go into all that. Thomas Fuller, the English historian and clergyman of the seventeenth century, has said in his quaint way, "History is a velvet study and recreation work." But I say to you that whoever undertakes to write the history of the horrors committed by the Huns of the twentieth century will have a task that will turn his soul sick. We do not ask the future historian to take our version of the story: simply take the German army orders and the German proclamations; the Germans are condemned out of their own mouths; they not only admit their crimes, they even glory in them.

One of the greatest of the crimes of Germany was the attempt to enslave our workmen and to force them to work for our enemy and against their own brothers. Tens of thousands of honest workmen were torn from their wives and families, loaded on trucks like cattle and deported to Germany. There they were tempted by offers of high wages to work for our enemy and to sign a so-called "voluntary contract" to engage in such work . . . but they would not sign. They were subjected to starvation . . . but they would not sign. They were tortured . . . but they would not sign. Then, when broken down and dying, they were sent back to their old homes in Belgium—for German efficiency has no use for human wrecks. I heard the other day of a poor boy who was brought back to his mother on a stretcher; his hand was hanging over the side; she took his hand to place it back and make him more comfortable; but, in his delirium, he thought that the Germans were trying to make him sign a contract, and with a last effort he pulled his hand away and shrieked, "No, I will not sign" . . . and died.

Such has been the patriotic spirit of our workmen; such is the spirit of all classes of our people. The Belgians may be killed, but they cannot be conquered.

Germany has finally tried another way to break down the unity and patriotic spirit of the Belgian people.

As you know, our country is bilingual. Some of us speak

Flemish and some of us speak French. But we have always lived together in peace and quietness and in unity of spirit. From time to time we have had our little differences of opinion —just as political parties have in every country that is alive and vigorous—or just as husbands and wives are said to have occasionally—but it has been all in the family. As a matter of fact, it is this mixture of race and blood which makes our strength. We are like concrete made from different elements, just as your great nation is made. But the Germans thought they could place an entering wedge between our Flemish and Walloon populations. They sought to fish in troubled waters, and to carry out the old game of "Divide and rule." They tried to divide our house against itself . . . but they "imagined a vain thing." In the early part of the war, after having ravaged and massacred in Flanders as well as in the Walloon district, after finding that our people could not be intimidated, the Germans sought to separate Flanders from the rest of Belgium by flattering the Flemings and pretending to be their special protectors. The German authorities announced that they would, as a favor to the Flemish population, establish a Flemish University at Ghent. But no reputable Flemish professors would consent to aid the enemy by teaching under German auspices. Two of those who refused were arrested and deported. These were Pirenne, our greatest authority on history, and Fredericq, who had been President of the University of Ghent. Furthermore, our patriotic Flemish boys refused to attend the courses. The Flemings spurned the Prussian bribe. Flanders was not for sale.

Then the Germans found "certain low fellows of the baser sort," and, by promising them political preferment, incited them to start a movement for the separation of Flanders from the Walloon provinces. A handful of these German tools met, and having elected themselves to various offices, declared the political autonomy of Flanders. They represented nobody but themselves . . . and their employer, the German Government. This was one of the many stupid acts of the German authorities in Belgium. I will give you an illustration of the spirit in which this pretended "liberation" of Flanders was received. One day, in the trenches, a short time ago, these German self-styled "liberators" put up a sign inviting our Flemish soldiers to come over and be free. The invitation was accepted, but not in the way the Germans expected; for that night our good Flemish boys "went over the top" and cleaned up the German trench . . . and many of these Germans came back as unwilling guests of their Flemish soldiers.

The only result of the German effort to divide Flanders from

the rest of our country has been to arouse the most intense unity throughout the land. All of our people have immediately rallied together in defense of the unity of our country, whose motto is like your own. You have the motto "E Pluribus Unum"—"One Composed of Many"—and ours is "Union Fait la Force"—"In Union There Is Strength."

In all of our temptations, trials and afflictions, we have been blessed by having leaders of indomitable courage. I shall mention only four of them . . . four who, like the Four Leaf Clover, are an emblem of Good Fortune. These are General Leman, the heroic defender of Liége; Burgomaster Max, the patriotic protector of the people of Brussels; Cardinal Mercier, that fearless Prince of the Church; and—King Albert, whose birthday we celebrate to-day.

General Leman typifies our militant patriotism. He held back the Germans for those precious days at Liége right at the beginning of the war. He never surrendered the forts entrusted to his care, and when finally he was captured after the Fort of Loncin had been blown up, while still suffering from his wounds, he wrote a most touching letter to the King in which he said: "I sought death, but it would not come to me."

Burgomaster Max represents the spirit of civic liberty for which Belgium has been celebrated for many centuries. He stood fearlessly between the citizens of Brussels and their oppressors. When the German general, seeking to intimidate the Burgomaster, pulled out his pistol and laid it on the conference table, Burgomaster Max quietly took out his fountain-pen and laid it beside him. In one of his proclamations posted in Brussels the Burgomaster declared: "As long as I am alive I will protect my fellow citizens." For this reason (which the Germans consider a crime) Burgomaster Max is now in a German prison.

Cardinal Mercier is the exemplar of true Religion, protecting the people of every creed and of every faith from the fury of the invader . . . the true Shepherd watching over the sheep of every fold.

Our King stands as the embodiment of all these qualities. He combines the spirit of patriotism, of civic and national liberty, and personal courage.

There he stands, always at the head of his army, barring the German hordes from Calais, and awaiting the proper moment to advance, and, together with our Allies and your brave American troops, to sweep the invader from our soil and deliver our people from the yoke of the oppressor.

# FRANCE AND THE WORLD WAR

By Mr. André Tardieu,

*High Commissioner of the French Republic in the United States*

The duty entrusted to you is most important: First, because in a democratic country the citizens must be fully aware of the motives which are governing national action.

In the second place, because, during this war, and more extensively in this country than anywhere else, we are confronted by an open or concealed German propaganda, even more dangerous when concealed, and tirelessly distorting the truth.

I have been requested to speak about France. You will have yourselves to speak about France for several reasons:

First, France is the battlefield on which the decision of the war will be obtained.

Then, there is no country which has either suffered so much on account of the war or done so much in this war.

Last, there is a symbolical meaning in the case of France. When one knows well the policy of Germany towards France before and during this war, one knows all the policy of Germany.

You are men of action. I mean to put forth not words but facts and figures.

## THE MILITARY EFFORT OF FRANCE

You know the import and significance of the French effort.

It is the French effort which, three and a half years ago, by breaking the first onslaught of an invader who felt certain to carry an immediate success, has enabled all the democracies of the world to arm themselves in turn and to come in and take their part in a noble fight.

It is through the French effort, through its unconquerable spirit at the Marne, through French tenacity and patience since that time, that in front of the barbarous imperialism an impregnable trench was dug, which the soldiers of Liberty will defend until victory is achieved.

In order to keep that line, from a population which, taking into account the invasion of our Northern territories, does not ex-

ceed thirty-five million inhabitants, seven and a half million men have been mobilized.

In the army zone proper, the sum total of our forces amounts still to a little less than three million men.

Before the battle which is now taking place we were holding over two-thirds of the western front. Since the beginning of that battle, you know how we have been extending our front in order to help our faithful and gallant British Allies.

You can therefore truly state to your audiences the following facts:

First, from the beginning of war the action of France has been a decisive one. Without France at the battle of the Marne, when there were only six divisions of the British army, the German plan "Victory Within Six Weeks" would have been carried out. In the second place, at Verdun, as well as now, the French army has asserted herself as the most powerful military weapon at the command of the Allies, as their actual mainstay.

You ought furthermore to be reminded that the area of France, before the invasion, did not exceed the two states of Nevada and Utah put together.

This comparison may help emphasize the duty which American democracy must meet, if she has made up her mind,—I know she has made it up,—to exert an effort equal to the effort of French democracy.

### THE INDUSTRIAL EFFORT

In view of such an effort, in order to equip our army, we had to set up entirely new industries.

Before the war our manufacturing capacity as regards ·75 shells was 13,000 pieces a day. Nothing had been organized in the way of a regular production of guns.

To-day we can turn our daily 250,000 shells for the ·75 gun, 100,000 shells for heavy guns, and sixty guns of various sizes. The bulk of our artillery outfit, now in line, amounts to 15,000 guns of every description. Our heavy artillery alone has grown from 300 guns before 1914 to 6,000 guns at the present time.

The development of our aviation equipment could be emphasized through similar figures.

Through such an increase of our war manufactures production, we have been enabled to turn over to our European Allies up to October, 1917:

1,350,000 rifles.
15,000 automatic rifles.

10,000 machine guns.
800,000,000 cartridges.
2,500 guns.
4,750 aeroplanes.

In the same way, since you have come into the war, we have been able to guarantee that, provided raw materials should be supplied, we could equip with guns and aeroplanes all American divisions brought over to France before the 1st of July, 1918.

Thus America has been allowed a sufficient length of time (this was necessary, I could not overemphasize this point) to organize and to start along that line her own production.

### THE FINANCIAL EFFORT

I need hardly say that this could not have been done without money. Early in 1918, the grand total of the appropriations granted by the French Parliament amounted to *104 billion francs.*

Out of this amount 6 billion francs only had been received from our European Allies before the coming of America into the war.

As to our internal loans, they have been subscribed by over 6 million French individuals on a thirty-five million population.

The average individual subscription thus stands out as from 200 to 300 dollars, which means that France has been saved, as far as loans go, by the small subscribers, by her own democracy, in the same way as French democracy, militarily speaking, has saved France and the world on the battlefields.

### THE LOSSES SUSTAINED BY FRANCE

That is what we have done.

From a few more figures you will gather what we have lost and what we have suffered: Killed in the battle, or dead from wounds received on the battlefield, 1,300,000 men before the present battle. Maimed, invalided out of the war, prisoners, about 1,000,000 men at the same date.

On the whole, our working population has been decreased by two million and a half men, that is to say, by a large proportion of the younger and active elements of the nation.

As to the living able-bodied men, a million and a half are working in our ammunition plants.

Thus, from a population of 35 million inhabitants, four million of our men, for the last three years and a half, have been taken from the general production of the nation.

The consequences resulting from this general shortage of handwork are the following ones:

First, as regards agricultural production, our wheat crops reduced by two-thirds, from nine millions and a half to three millions and a half.

In the second place, the complete suppression of many of our most necessary industries; for instance, our shipyards have manufactured for over three years guns and shells only.

In the third place, the loss—for which we have not made up as yet—of a large part of our railway rolling stock: 50,000 cars, locomotives, not to mention the exceedingly great difficulty of repairs as regards worn out rolling stock.

In January last, failing means for repairs, 2200 locomotives and 26,000 cars had got permanently stuck.

In the same time our mercantile navy has lost on account of the submarine warfare about 500,000 tons.

I ought last to point out to the slump of our exports to foreign countries as well as to our own colonies.

Such would be a fairly complete picture of the burden of losses and trials which we have borne. How have we been able to stand it?

### SACRIFICES THROUGH WHICH FRANCE WAS ENABLED TO MAKE UP FOR THESE LOSSES

Every single individual has done his best in a spirit of national solidarity.

The old men, the women, the children, have taken the burden of agricultural and of industrial work left behind by the men in the Army and by munition workers. Then, as far as there was a general shortage of necessaries, the emergency has been met in a spirit of sacrifice in order that the soldiers and the munition workers be kept fully supplied.

You are aware that the French Nation has always lived mostly on wheat bread. Our pre-war consumption was 700,000 tons per month, our present consumption has been now reduced to 530,000 tons, a reduction of about 25 per cent.

Of course it was impossible to reduce to any great extent the bread ration of the soldier. That ration, which amounted in the first year of the war to 750 grammes, about 25 ounces, has been progressively cut down to 600 grammes, a little over twenty-one ounces.

But, on the other hand, as regards the civilian population, we had to establish the individual bread card allowing only 300 grammes, about ten ounces per day, which means barely the third part of the average daily bread consumption of the French peasant or workman before the war.

In order to apply all the available cereals to the making of bread, we have taken drastic measures, which I deem it important to state here in detail.

First, with the exception of our Northern and Eastern district, where no supply of pure drinking-water is available, the supply of barley to the breweries has been suppressed. Seventy-five per cent. of our barley crops have been thus kept for food consumption.

Then feeding horses and cattle on cereals which could be used for the making of bread has been prohibited. This resulted in a decrease of fifty per cent. in the number of horses in France, and in an important reduction of our cattle. We have radically suppressed, on the other hand, all flour consuming industries. The manufacturing of biscuits and of pastry has been completely prohibited. The manufacturing of cereal pastes, so useful, though, has been reduced by 90 per cent.

At the same time, as regards the restriction of consumption in general, strict rules have been imposed on hotels and restaurants, namely: absolute suppression of fancy bread, of sandwiches, of "crescents," of brioches, of zwiebacks, of either fresh or dry pastry, of all confectionery, of creams, of chocolates, of butter.

Restaurants and hotels have been further prohibited from delivering food to their customers outside of the regular meal hours. Regular meals have been reduced to two courses.

I heard that some Americans, who were in France a few weeks ago, have been wondering why we have not yet the meatless days. This suppression of meatless days resulted from the lack of cereals for the cattle feeding, which involved the killing of cattle, and the killing of cattle was meant, on the other hand, to bring about a reduction in the human consumption of these same cereals.

I may be allowed to add that, of late, my good friend Mr. Hoover insisted that, as far as possible, we ought to try to substitute the meat consumption to the consumption of cereals.

Gentlemen, I could go on for a long time quoting facts and figures.

I could remind you that we have reduced our sugar consumption by 49 per cent.; our rice consumption by 61 per cent.; that our imports of dried vegetables have been reduced by 52 per cent.; of oils and fats by 48 per cent.

Thus our material sacrifices have been heavy. They could not have taken place unless the moral sacrifice had been accepted, unless every citizen had been ready to bear uncomplainingly any losses of lives, of money, of comfort, in order

to secure the necessary results: that is what French citizens have done.

### THE CASE OF ALSACE-LORRAINE SYMBOLICAL OF THE JUSTICE OF THE CAUSE OF FRANCE

What then were the motives and the inspiration of the French nation in doing its full duty and in bearing the burden of sacrifices unflinchingly? The understanding that our cause was the cause of right.

In 1870, Prussia, when attacking France, had started the war through the means of a falsified document: the well known Ems telegram, falsified by Bismarck. At the end of the 1870 war, Prussia had become the ruler of Germany. In order to establish her victory on territorial annexations, she took Alsace-Lorraine.

She took Alsace-Lorraine despite of the solemn protest raised by the selected representatives of the two provinces.

It was as follows:

### DECLARATION

"Alsace and Lorraine do not consent to be made over to alien masters.

"Associated with France, for more than two centuries, in good as well as in evil fortune, these two provinces unceasingly exposed to the blows of the enemy, have ever sacrificed themselves for the cause of her national greatness: they have sealed with blood the indissoluble bond connecting them with French Unity. The object to-day of alien pretentions, they proclaim in spite of every obstacle and every danger, under the very heel of the invader, their unswerving loyalty to France.

"Before any peace negotiations have been entered upon, the representatives of Alsace and Lorraine have laid upon the table of the National Assembly a declaration setting forth in the most explicit terms, on behalf of those provinces, their will and their right to remain French.

"Yielded up, in despite of all justice, and by a hateful abuse of force, to alien domination, we have a last duty to fulfill.

"We declare once again to be null and void a compact giving us away without our consent.

"The vindication of our rights remains open forever, to each and all of us, in the shape and to the utmost limits prescribed by our conscience.

"Your brothers of Alsace and Lorraine, now separated from our common family, will preserve for France, while absent from their homes, their filial affection, until the day comes when she shall return to fill her accustomed place by our firesides."

This protest has expressed the vindication of right as well as the experience of history. At the beginning of the XVIII century, during the negotiations of the treaty of Utrecht, Prussian plenipotentiaries said: "It is a very well known fact that the inhabitants of Alsace are more French than the Parisians."

A few months ago General von Lowenfeld, in command of the Prussian guard, wrote, on a report, the following marginal note: "The French Lorrainers do not belong to our race."

To-day again, German generals, when troops are billeted in Alsace-Lorraine, order their soldiers to consider themselves "in enemy country."

During this very battle it has been known from documents found with German prisoners that special precautions have been taken when Alsatian and Lorrainers soldiers were shifted from the Russian front to the French front in view of the offensive.

In 1871 the Germans imposed on a people the right of might against the clearly expressed will of this people.

They are to-day claiming the same right of might:

First, in order to state that no peace discussion could be agreed upon in case it would include the question of Alsace-Lorraine, which, following their doctrine, must remain in the hands of those who had stolen it.

In the second place, in order to put into practice in Lithuania, in Poland, in Belgium an annexationist policy, similar to the policy of which Alsace-Lorraine was years ago the victim.

## DESPITE THE CRIME COMMITTED IN ALSACE-LORRAINE, FRANCE FOR FORTY-THREE YEARS HAS SPARED NO EFFORT TO KEEP PEACE

Immediately after the treaty of Francfort, the Germans accused us of aiming at a war of revenge. Let the facts answer.

In 1875 the Germans tried to provoke us into the war; we kept cool and were saved by a British and Russian intervention.

From 1887 to 1891 the Germans repeatedly created frontier

incidents and made arbitrary arrests of French citizens; we kept unmoved and took no action.

From 1904 to 1911 they tried to put up a quarrel against us in Morocco. We have carried negotiations in cold blood, and, in order to keep peace, we have further handed over to Germany, with a profound grief, part of our own Congo Colony.

During that period, the military preparations of Germany outgrew our own in huge proportions.

From 1883 to 1913 the French military appropriations had increased by 70 per cent., the German ones by 229 per cent. From 1902 to 1913 France spent, for armament purposes, 980 million francs, Germany 2 billion and 200 million francs.

In 1905 we reduced by one year the duration of the compulsory military service. In 1911, 1912, 1913, the German's Reichstag voted three laws increasing considerably the German military establishment and resources.

Following that direct menace, at the end of 1913, as a vital measure of safety to protect our very independence, we had to establish again the three years' term of compulsory military service.

In 1914, when Germany had decided to make war, we left nothing untried in order to avoid war.

We accepted or suggested every kind of formula allowing either of a direct negotiation, or of a mediation, or of an arbitration, which would prevent war. Germany evaded everything.

Even after the violation of our own territory of German troops, in the first days of August 1914, we kept our own troops five miles back of our border line.

Germany, moreover, had made such a definite decision to throw us into the war, that she had ordered her Ambassador in Paris to exact from France, as a guarantee of neutrality, the handing over to the German Army of the fortresses of Toul and Verdun.

From all this was born in us an indestructible consciousness of being in the right.

In 1871 we were victims of Prussian violence, through which our territory and our national unity were mutilated.

During forty-three years we had suffered our pain in silence. That was not enough.

After forty-three years, mutilated still and still peaceful, we were attacked by the same foe.

Because we know that, we will fight to the last.

Frenchmen to-day would not fight well for a war of injustice and prey. They have been fighting and will keep on fighting

as long as necessary, because their right and the justice of their cause are deeply impressed in their moral conscience.

That is why we felt profoundly grateful to President Wilson for having voiced in a perfect way our own ideal.

The problem of Alsace-Lorraine, which for nearly fifty years has disturbed the world's peace, has become, through the potential force of events in the course of this war, the symbol at the same time of French rights and of human rights.

That is why we feel indebted to the President for having placed this issue not on a ground of sentiment, but on a ground of facts and justice, the only ground on which we are claiming its settlement.

## CONCLUSIONS RESULTING FROM OUR OWN EXPERIENCE

Conclusions are resulting from our own experience of Germany before and during the war.

1.—On account of the perfection of its material organization and of its condition of moral slavery, Germany is the most dangerous weapon which ever was used by autocracy against democracy, right and justice.

2.—Germany keeps her Allies, Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria, under her own absolute control and authority: she makes use of them, and they are serving her own purposes. In Count Czernin's hypocrisy there is nothing but a means to divide, if it were possible, the Allies, at the command and to the benefit of Germany.

3.—Following the collapse of Russia, Germany has gained, as regards the continuation of war, advantages which cannot be overstated.

Such are the facts, the weighty and grave facts, by which we are confronted and which you must keep in front of your eyes.

To counterbalance these unpleasant facts, some comfort, though, ought to be derived from the consideration of other features of the present situation.

I have dealt with the material and moral conditions of France: your trust in France ought to be without restriction or reserve.

Then Great Britain has given, during this war, the full measure of her strength and of her loyalty.

The battle of the Marne won by the French, the safe keeping of the seas by the British, are the two main facts which have enabled all the democratic peoples of the world to come in and to take their share in the struggle.

After Italy had exerted a big military effort, they went last year through a crisis out of which they have now emerged successfully and hold their front with the utmost steadfastness.

Our other Allies, Japan, Belgium, Serbia, Greece and Portugal, remain entirely true to us.

Our resources are huge, and your own, which are unexhaustible, will now be added to them.

### THE FRENCH-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP

Gentlemen, thank you for your friendly forbearance in allowing me to deliver such a lengthy statement of facts.

This statement, though, would not be complete if I should fail to point out to you the all-important meaning, in our common fight, of the special bond of affection and trust between France and America.

A deep affection for and thorough trust in America are entertained by every one of my country-men.

Priceless has been to us the strengthening and extension of the wonderful bond of indestructible friendship between France and America, of the sacred union of our hearts.

Priceless to us is the realization that we are now struggling in a full community of purposes and aims, in a full devotion to the same ideals, with the great American democracy.

All over this broad land of yours, carry this message of every French citizen to every citizen of America. Tell them that we trust you to the end.

And let me now say a last word about the common duties which all the Allied nations must steadily bear in mind.

### THE COMMON DUTIES OF THE ALLIES

The first duty is the national unity. Follow your chief. Act like one single man. Forget political struggles.

We have done it; you will do it.

The second duty is interallied unity. It has been effected as far as military command is concerned; this is all right; but it is not enough.

That same unity must be truly and practically carried out for all other purposes, such as war supplies, food, shipping.

This has not been done as yet; it must be done.

The third duty is the unity of feeling and understanding as to the conditions of victory.

Hear again what your President says;

"Germany has once more said that force and force alone shall decide whether justice and peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether right, as America conceives it, or dominion, as Germany conceives it, shall determine the destinies of mankind.

"There is, therefore, but one response possible from us: force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force, which shall make right the law of the world and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust."

This is the truth which must be kept engraved in our minds.

As a last word let me quote you the sentence I read two days ago posted all over New York: "We are in it; we must win it."

# GREAT BRITAIN AND THE WAR

By The Earl of Reading,

*Embassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from Great Britain*

I am glad to have the opportunity of meeting you here to-day, because I understand it will be your function in the future to go out through the United States to present to your country, in your own way, reasons why this great war is now being waged, and also as I imagine, from the practical side of all Americans, the best way to win the Victory!

I dare say it occurs to you—certainly it does to me—to wonder how it is that you, like us, liberty-loving and peace-loving as you are, should be engaged in the greatest war which has ever been waged in the world's history. But it requires little thought to understand the reasons.

You have all read and know the greater number of the causes leading up to this conflict. If I pass them in brief retrospect it is only to refresh our recollections, because with events that move so rapidly, scenes that change so swiftly, impressions that pile one upon the other with such striking rapidity, there is perhaps a little danger of the real issues being lost sight of.

It seems ages and yet it is but some three and one-half years since Austria launched her ultimatum to Serbia. It is a far cry from Sarajevo to the United States of America, but nevertheless that ultimatum was the first step in a number of steps that eventually led to my country going into war and to yours—thank Heaven, be it said—because from that moment, hating war as you do and as we do, we realized that there was but one answer to the challenge that had been thrown down to the world—an answer that was given in inimitable language by your President in his great utterance at Baltimore on Saturday last.

It was intended that there should be this great world war. It was intended by Germany. Austria was but the hand to start it. You will remember that demands were made upon Serbia; demands which in themselves did not interest you, and really scarcely interested Great Britain, save that they meant that one small nation was to be crushed out of its sovereignty and its

independence. Serbia submitted to the demands that were made upon her by Austria, and accepted everything that was required save two points, and those two she refused because they meant an end to her autonomy, and she strove to get some modifications of them. The answer was one with which we are now, alas, only too familiar. It was known equally well by Austria and by Germany—for Germany was back of it all the time—that if Austria insisted on the letter of these demands it meant kindling the flame of the great war, for Russia was bound to step in to help Serbia and France, in alliance with Russia, would be involved.

All these considerations were very present to the minds of the German Government who had determined that this was the most opportune moment in which to begin their great scheme of world aggression, of domination in order to satisfy their lust of power. Consequently, in spite of every effort that was made by Sir Edward Grey, then our Foreign Minister, who labored so hard during all the years he was in office with the purpose of preventing war, war became inevitable!

War was inevitable, not because in fact there was no possibility of arriving at a settlement. It was not that. It was because Germany had determined that this was the moment and Serbia was the pretext, and nothing on earth was to cause them to abandon the best pretext that they had had at what, in their government's view, was the most serviceable moment. If there remain any doubt about it, we have only to turn to the revelations which have recently been made. We have the innermost facts from the lips of those who were actually taking part in these affairs, not only from ourselves, but from Germans. It is not necessary to dwell at any length on these matters because they are now so well established that I doubt whether even a member of the German Government, if one could stand before you, would dare argue that it was not Germany that caused the war or strive to deny that the guilt for this awful crime rests on the German Government alone.

What were the consequences? They did not fall as Germany hoped. In the deliberations of her leaders there was no question of a conference with Russia as was suggested by Sir Edward Grey. That wouldn't suit at all, because it might deprive Germany of the war she wanted.

Then came the question of England. What would England do? You know what happened. We were confronted by the gravest problem ever submitted to any nation. Our government had to determine whether it should enter this war; and sometimes it is not quite realized that England was bound by no

treaty to involve herself. We were not bound by any alliance to enter this war. We knew the causes of the war. We knew what a war with Germany would mean.

We were under no illusions. But when Germany with unexampled ferocity and unparalleled depravity entered Belgium and determined that she would strike through Belgium come what may, that Belgium men and women and children should be sacrificed to the policy of terrorism, which was the great German ideal—by that England knew the moment had come when the great Government of Germany must be taught that treaties were made to be observed, that conventions were sacred as a word of honor.

We in England were bound like Germany to protect the internationality of Belgium, and by the self-same treaty that should have held their hand. We did not invade Belgium, but we said to Germany: "You do this thing at your peril! England is in." And without a moment's thought—to her honor be it said—England threw everything that she had into the melting pot and said: "Come what may, as a nation we shall be true to our honor, which demands that we defend Belgium, and now we shall fight the German Government to the very last."

And what has been the history in your own country—you who are so far away from it? Three thousand miles of sea lie between you and the lands over-run by these German hordes, lands wasted by a devastation which is difficult of description even by those who have seen it. You watched, you weighed, you considered—not from fear, but because there were great responsibilities naturally upon you, upon those who are your leaders equally as upon our own. Every endeavor that was possible and right was made to avoid armed conflict between you and the German Government. There were months when your very souls were stirred with indignation at what was happening, and eventually, after there had been interchanges of notes, there came acts which made it impossible for you as a self-respecting nation, according to the views of your President, to abstain longer from taking part.

Therefore America stepped in, and with it the whole plane of that contest was raised because we know perfectly well—Europe knows and those who do not know it have it to learn and will learn it—that America has only fought and would only fight for Liberty, that she would never fight for aggression or for world domination, that her great ideal of liberty and democracy was that for which alone she would draw the sword. As in the past so now, once it is drawn, when once you have started and it has been made clear that only force can rule—as Germany apparently

has taken care to make clear—then it is only with force she can be met, it is only with the sword that she will be met!

Now a war is not won by brave men alone. For some time America's courageous young men have been learning the business of fighting and to-day many thousands of them are bearing the brunt of flying shells. One has only to see them to understand the courage and moral strength which characterize your people; yet we know from our own experience that it is not by those men alone that you can win the war. Victory requires far more than valor and numbers. Victory demands all the resources of science applied by the joint efforts of all the people. This is a war, in truth, in which the production of commodities and the enlistment of the services of the citizens of the state are almost as necessary as the services of the man in the field. I do hope that when you go forth to speak, you will make it clear to all with whom you come in contact that victory is not to be won only by the men in the trenches or the men in the battleships or the men in the destroyers or the men at the guns. Victory is to be won in some part by the men and women at home, by the men and women who help produce the commodities, by the services and sacrifices of the men and women who contribute their all to the state.

America is at this moment in a campaign for a Liberty Loan, which is only one form of service required of the people. You are all asked to subscribe to it. It has always seemed to me that contributing money is the least possible of the services that may be asked, for it is no more than the subscription to an investment that has the great and rare advantage of being both safe and remunerative. It is not often in our lives that we have the privilege of meeting our patriotic obligations with advantage to our purses! In truth the Liberty Loan—as I have said—and subscription to it, is the least of the matter. It has to be done. It has to be impressed upon the public because everybody has not the power to think it out for himself, although you might think that by this time it was duly impressed upon public opinion and that there is little opportunity of any one escaping it. But it serves well to illustrate what is required.

The object of the Liberty Loan is to transfer money from the purses of the citizens who have it, into the coffers of the United States Treasury, so your country may pay for the goods and services required for the prosecution of the war. Here you have an advantage over ourselves, for the money your government raises it pays substantially only to people in your own country, so it soon finds its way around out of the Treasury into which it is deposited back again into the purses from which

it emerged. And perhaps, as it sometimes happens, by the time it gets back there, there is a little added to it. Now that money which is loaned to the government is paid out again for production or services. To illustrate the operation. It may be that the government pays out the money to a man who is supplying steel. He must employ workmen, he must purchase material, he must keep his furnaces going. To perform these functions he must pay out money. The people who get it spend it. It circulates and eventually finds its way home to the purses of the men who lent it to the government, to await the next Liberty Loan. Again it will go back to the government—perhaps in larger subscriptions because there will always be a little more in the purse in consequence of what is happening—again it will be circulated and again restored to the purse from whence it came. Well, now, that is why you are able to meet the cost of war. If it were not for that there would be difficulty in raising loan after loan.

With this money the United States raises you do something else for which we, as allies, are very grateful indeed. You lend Dollars to us—not money which we should be able to spend at home, but in your great wisdom you lend the money so that it should be spent in the main in your country and you take from us a bond of indebtedness, which is perfectly right and for which we again are most grateful. We use these Dollars to pay for all the products that you are able to supply us, and so they also find their way back into the purses of men and women who buy Liberty Bonds, ready to begin a new journey when your government calls for them.

There is much work and great need for these traveling Dollars. Take for example ships, and here I would revert for a moment to the British Navy. When the war broke out it so happened that the British Navy had only just come to the end of its summer maneuvers and in consequence, by the greatest good fortune, it was ready and could be used immediately in protecting our own shores and those of our Allies from Germany, and in driving the German ships from the seas. Since those days of August 1914, we have trebled the personnel of our navy in spite of the enormous drafts of our man-power for all of our industrial works and for military service. We have increased our navy—it is perhaps not right that I should tell you by how much. We have actually carried 13,000,000 men from one port to another, and of these 13,000,000 men we have only lost, in spite of all the submarine warfare, 3,500. And of these 3,500 that we did lose, 550 were lost in hospital ships by reason of the attack that Germany chose to make upon them.

We have carried, according to the best statistical computation that has been made, 130,000,000 tons of material during that time. It is impossible, really, for the mind quite to grasp what it means. I only tell it to you, not to stagger you by figures, because when figures get so big they almost cease to convey anything, but in order to impress upon you how necessary it is to secure the maximum effort from every human being who devotes his services to the production of ships, or anything that appertains to ships, so we may have the means of transporting supplies from America to the seat of war.

Think for a moment of what is happening. There has, it is true, been a great destruction of vessels by submarine warfare, but there has also been a very considerable addition to the vessels which are being used against the enemy, largely due to the fortunate fact that there were so many hundreds of thousands of tons of German shipping without your ports at the time you went into the war. All those ships are being used, they are being used along with the new vessels that are being built by us and by you. Vessels are chartered from every source. Neutral tonnage is being used as well as our own tonnage.

We are engaged—you and we—in striving to ascertain what is the best way of utilizing every single ship, so that we may put that ship to the best possible use in the common interest, with an eye only to the common purpose. All ideas of commercial rivalries and jealousies disappear in this war. You have but one thought and we have but one thought—and that is, victory!

Let it be impressed upon the man who is at work in the shipyard, be he employee, clerk, ship-riveter, boiler-maker or engineer, that every hour he puts in is equivalent to a shot at the front. He too is a soldier, but I bid him remember every time that he thinks he is tired or that the work is monotonous, as I have no doubt it is, to repeat to himself, almost as if it were a religious devotion, that there are men of his own kith and kin, men of his own country under the enemy's fire in the trenches at the risk of their lives and of their limbs, and that they are doing it gladly and cheerfully, while he is safe in the shelter of the shipyard.

The same truth should be impressed on all those who grow food or are in any way concerned in the distribution of food. They must understand that they too are contributing toward victory. The Allies are not able to supply out of their own resources the needs of their own people and of their armies in the field. France which in peace times could feed her own people is not able to do so now because all her man power is at war and many of her women are engaged in war work. Tillage

of the soil is left to the wives and children of the farmers, who for all their good will and devotion have neither the strength nor capacity to meet the enormous demands upon the productive power of that fertile country. In Italy similar conditions prevail.

We in Great Britain have never produced more than twenty-five or thirty per cent. of the food we consumed. A large proportion of our supplies have been imported from this great continent of North America where you have the advantage of being able to produce food in enormous quantities. In spite of your superlative productivity the demands upon you are so great that you are being asked to economize in the use of wheat and meat. We note with pride and satisfaction that you are doing so with the same spirit of cheerfulness and gladness that has marked those young men of yours who have gone into the great battle with a cheer, delighted to have an opportunity to strike a blow for freedom and for democracy. You who are saving food are truly serving for victory.

In this great struggle the farmer and all who help by tillage to produce the foods that we require are also soldiers, and I beg that they remember their obligation and their privilege. When limbs are wearied and the hot summer sun invites to shade and rest, let them say to themselves as the riveter and the boiler-maker: "I must go on even if I am tired; I must do my duty to my country; I must do my duty for Liberty."

These are but a few instances of service in the common cause. The men who labor in the aeroplane factories, the powder and gun makers, the woodcutters engaged in getting the spruce or other timber required for ships and flying machines—all are helping toward victory. This truth I beg you to impress upon them, because sometimes it is lost sight of:—that there is dignity and self respect in all work for the common cause. Whatever form of service men or women are rendering so long as they are contributing to the country's needs, they are helping to win the victory. Let them know it; let them feel it; let them realize it, and you yourselves will be doing—if I may be permitted to say so—a very great service to your country. To bring home to the men and women of this country the responsibility that rests upon every individual to balance by sacrifice at home the risk incurred by his brethren upon the battlefields abroad; to make him visualize that thereby he too wins honor is a great and splendid task. No greater service can be rendered this country than to imbue it throughout its length and breadth with the true spirit.

It has been brought home to me many times that the great

majority of Americans have it, that they are keenly alive to the issues and consequences of this momentous struggle, that they are prepared to do their utmost for victory; but removed by thousands of miles of land and water from contact with its dreadful experiences it is hard to bring home to them what war means. Those of us who have lived with it and beside it during long and perilous years know its terrors. We in England who have had the war at our doors, to whom the enemy has carried destruction by his Zeppelins and his aeroplanes, by his coast bombardments and other offensives, we are aware and understand. But 'tis much more difficult when you are so far away.

Only the other evening as I stood at the door of the British Embassy in Washington, seeing a guest out, I noticed the clear beauty of the sky. My friend turned to me and remarked, "Isn't it a fine night?" And unwittingly it came over me as I looked across the spaces so clearly illuminated in the moonlight that it is on just such nights as this at home in London that air raids come, and that means that before dawn there will be a new toll of defenseless men and women and children killed. The memory of the menace of the bombs from the sky had bitten so deeply into my mind that the mere aspect of moonlight, of the cloudless beauty of the night, suggested the same thoughts to me 3,000 miles away that would have arisen in my consciousness on my own doorstep in London.

Yes, we know what war means. We have had to pay the tribute; we see our wounded on every street; we see the trains come in laden with hurt men. Every one of us in one form or another has lost some one. All our men are on the field of battle. All that we care for is there. With eyes and hearts strained to the utmost we follow the news from the front. To us to-day's news and to-morrow's is interpreted in individual terms, in terms of the peril of our sons and brothers.

I tell you this only that you may understand what it all means. Very soon—already it is beginning—you will know. When the blows begin to fall perhaps some of you may ask yourselves, as very likely others ask themselves—"Is it worth it?" And the answer is without hesitation:—"Yes, worth it, and worth doing again and again." It would not be worth it if we were merely fighting for territory or for the aggrandizement of one power over another, but it is worth it if we realize that we are fighting for liberty and justice!

This war is the challenge of brute force to justice! Liberty is to be crushed by military depotism if Germany triumphs. If we succeed, if you and we, the Allies, win the victory—as we certainly shall—then justice and liberty will prevail. The cause

for which we are fighting is becoming almost a religion with us. In this faith of freedom our hearts and souls and last resources are enlisted. Through this great conflict we hope, in your President's words, "to make the world safe for democracy," to insure that justice shall be done as between nations, and to redeem the world from the peril that now menaces it.

And I would beg of you as you go forth that you remember above all things this:—the message you are to deliver is one asking the people to make sacrifices to uphold the banner of liberty. Only by faith and sacrifice can the power of wrong be driven underground and the power of right enthroned on high for all to see shine forever in the world.

# THE LATIN-AMERICAN REPUBLICS, THE PAN AMERICAN UNION

By John Barrett,

*Director General of the Pan American Union*

It was my privilege when I received my first appointment to represent the United States in a foreign land, under the administration of a great President, Grover Cleveland, and under instruction of Walter Q. Gresham, then Secretary of State, to be told what he told every other Ambassador and Minister who went out: "Don't you ever, under any circumstances, go into any silent chancellory, and allow a misrepresentation of facts about the United States. And if possible, do not ever allow a Minister of Foreign Affairs of any country to which you are accredited to lie to you or to misrepresent the facts. And moreover I say to you what I have said to every Ambassador from Mr. Bayard down, that when there may be difficulty between the government you represent, the United States, and the one to which you are accredited, do not immediately swell yourself out and say that because you are the Minister of the United States you are right. Remember that that other country has a side to the question. When any problem is at issue between you, and you have studied it from your standpoint as the Foreign Minister of the United States—before you communicate with the State Department—before you send us one of those excited telegrams that you want a gunboat or a fleet of ships, as so many Ministers do, and thus hurt our prestige abroad—make yourself for the time being the Minister of Foreign Affairs for that foreign country where you are, and conceive what his argument may be. Then take the two arguments, yours as representing your country and his as Minister of his land; weigh them carefully and when you have reached your decision, cable the State Department and we will back you up to the limit."

That was the diplomacy that was initiated in those days in the history of the United States, and we have been building upon it until, to-day, no nation in the world has a more competent diplomatic and consular service than has the United States.

This is the character of American diplomacy, and in the light of that diplomacy I address you to-day.

I am here to invoke your interests in one of the greatest opportunities, one of the greatest responsibilities, that the United States has ever known in all its history, namely, its relationship to its sister American republics and its opportunity for the extension of its prestige, its influence and its commerce among all those countries, to open a basis of perfect freedom and independence of action, where every country small or great shall have the same privileges as every other country has in the relationship of nations.

We do not appreciate Latin-America. We do not realize the mightiness of these countries, their immense future; but we must do it, because the United States will live or die as they live or die, and they will live or die according as we live or die. The more you study the problem the more you are convinced that the development of these Latin-American countries in a perfect relationship with our own country is of the greatest importance to our own land.

Yonder, ladies and gentlemen, across the street from this Memorial Continental Hall, stands a building which is absolutely unique among the buildings of the world, the Pan American Union Building. It is the only building in the world in which a great council of nations, the plenipotentiaries of a large group of nations, regularly, officially or by international agreements, right through the year, on specified dates, meet to study and consider the intercourse, the commerce and the friendship of all, and to preserve peace among them all. Think of it, the only place in the world! The Hague is an intermittent tribunal now entirely out of commission. The Pan American Union is working day and night throughout the year.

Go into the Governing Board room there and you will see a room that inspired Mr. Balfour, that inspired General Joffre, and all others who have been there when they were told that on the field Wednesday of every month, around that table, are seated the highest representatives in Washington of all the American republics, and of two hundred millions of people. If you had been there on the first Wednesday of this month, you would have seen seated around that international council table the Secretary of State of the United States; just at his right that remarkable and highly refined Ambassador of Brazil, Mr. Da Gama; upon his left you would have seen the new Ambassador from Chili, a great statesman of that country, Mr. Aldunate. There you would have seen also the Minister of Bolivia, whom I might call the "Grand Old Statesman," who has been here

nearly twenty years, Mr. Calderon; and the new Ambassador of Mexico, and so on, each according to his rank. And there each one of them—the Ambassador of little Panama, and of Salvador, have exactly the same authority, the same work as the Secretary of State of the United States or the Ambassador from Brazil. And there you would have seen them for two hours discussing the affairs of the Western Hemisphere.

And this is the climax of results. Since the final stone of that building was laid, and it was dedicated about eight years ago in this month, or indeed since the corner stone was laid a little more than ten years ago, there has been no war whatever between any two American republics; and I myself have seen the influences exerted around that table that have prevented six international wars upon the Western Hemisphere!

One of the greatest of Englishmen, after looking at that table and at a photograph of that Council in session, made this observation: "I cannot help thinking that had there existed in London, or in Berlin, in Paris, or in Vienna, a Pan European Union, an All European Union, constituted upon the same basis as the Pan American Union in Washington, where every month the plenipotentiaries of all the European countries would have met together hand to hand to work out the issues between them—I feel confident that this great struggle would have been prevented."

Such is the building within a stone's throw of you that has had this influence and that gives this inspiration. This whole land should have an intimate acquaintance with it and with the methods by which we build friendship and preserve peace among the nations.

I invite you to come with me into the building. There I will show you the practical workings of the Union. I will show you a staff of sixty or seventy experts in international trade, education, friendship; picked men and women conducting a correspondence of many hundred letters a day in every important language. I will show you a library of fifty thousand volumes, the best collection of up-to-date Americana in the world, in which every government of the Western Hemisphere deposits two or three copies of its official documents, and where all the books written on Latin-America, descriptive and historical, are immediately placed; a library that has one hundred and sixty thousand indexed cards where you can study any phase, every phrase whatever of the history, the development and the productions of these countries.

There you will find a collection of twenty-five thousand photographs, illustrating every city, town and hamlet and every

variety of human being in these republics. You will find a mighty raised map of Central and South America that will indicate to you every mountain peak, valley and city, and the outlines of every country. There are great diagrams showing the population, relationship and area of all these countries; the population, and exhibits of their principal products, and two thousand maps illustrate the countries in detail. And finally if you want to look upon the beautiful I will show you the building itself of which one of the greatest French architects has said, "It combines beauty of carved stone, nobility of expression and practical usefulness in greater degree than any building in America and possibly in the world."

Do you all fully understand the meaning of the term Pan America? It simply means All America. It was called "Pan America" instead of "All America" because the word "Pan," meaning "All," is common to the Portuguese, Spanish and French languages. So instead of saying "All America," which would not be understood in Latin-America generally, we say "Pan America."

Pan America in its geographical sense means everything from the Arctic to the Anarctic. But politically, Pan America means twenty-one independent republics of the Western Hemisphere from the United States on the north to Chili and Argentine on the south. I hope and believe that the day is not far distant when Canada, by some such process as she may elect, will become at least an honorary member of the Pan American Union. We have a chair similar to the other chairs which carries the inscription "Canada." We have the coat of arms of Canada inscribed on the chair. We have a bronze figure of Champlain, who, when he was conducting his negotiations with the Indians, had so much to do with the development of the northwestern part of the United States and Canada. Perhaps that might be one of the great developments of the war, for just before the war began I took up this question with Premier Asquith, the highest official of Great Britain and of Canada, and it was looked kindly upon; I hope that after the war we may have the benefit of Canada's coöperation, and that Canada may have the benefit of the coöperation of all of these Central and South American countries and of the United States.

But politically then at the present Pan America omits Canada, it omits the British and Foreign Offices of the West Indies, and also the British, French and Dutch Guiana in South America. Remember this distinction when you are considering this question. "Pan Americanism" means that every American republic joins with every other to work for their common good. Is

not that the ideal for which we are all struggling in the world?

Again do not speak of this world to the south of us as Spanish-America. That is a common error of teachers, lecturers and writers. Unless you refer to the Spanish-speaking countries only. But Brazil, which has a larger isolated direct area than the United States, speaks Portuguese and is not in any sense a part of Spanish-America. It is Portuguese-America. The more correct term is Latin-America, which includes everything from Cuba and Mexico south to Chili and to the Argentine.

I hear frequently another error. In Washington some of our most prominent women in society speak of these Latin-Americans as Spanish. They say, "She is a Spanish girl," when referring to a young woman from one of the South or Central American countries. Now every Latin-American is just as jealous of his nationality in respect to his own country as is every person in the United States jealous of his nationality in respect to our country. Do not then call an Argentinian a Spaniard. Do not call a Brazilian a Portuguese. Do not call a Mexican or a Cuban a Spaniard. Not that it is not an honor to be a Spaniard, but if you are an American you do not wish to be called a German or even British. You are an American!

We make another mistake about these countries when we lump them all together. There is a greater difference between Central America and South America than there is between France or England and the Balkan States. There is far less in common between the States of Latin America than between the most remote states of Europe. Yet we lump them all together and rather patronize them and fail to speak of them in respectful terms. We must remember and avoid these things because we will never get close to these peoples and win their confidence and secure their following unless we treat them with intelligence and with discrimination as we desire to be treated by all other peoples. The Golden Rule is just as potent in constructive statesmanship as it is in constructive fellowship among men and women.

For what are foreign affairs after all. We begin with the father and mother, the brother and sister, under one roof. That is the beginning of social organization. Then follows a little group of families; then a little ward or community; then we progress to the town or city; then to the county, then to the state, then to the nation; and then to the group of nations. When, for instance, you come to the relationship of Argentina and the United States you have the same relationship as between you and your sister and brother, nothing different whatever except

that nations are the ultimate organization of society while the family is the beginning of it.

Let me take you for a bird's-eye view of these countries to the south of us. How many of you realize that you could pick up the whole of the United States from Maine to Texas, put it down in Brazil and have room left for New York three or four times over? How many of you realize that while the vessels of the world can proceed only a few miles up the Mississippi from New Orleans, the same vessels can go two thousand miles up the Amazon? How many of you realize that the Atlantic port of Peru is twenty-two hundred miles from the Atlantic Ocean and is only seven hundred miles from the Pacific. And yet at that port I have counted a score of vessels loaded with rubber that would steam for six days through the heart of the continent of Brazil before they got to the ocean on their way to Liverpool or New York. There is a city up the Amazon River and right under the equator with a hundred thousand population, with churches and street car lines. Do you know that Rio de Janeiro is on the most beautiful river in all the world, that it contains one million, four hundred thousand people who spent fifty million dollars to build an avenue through the heart of the city, tearing down buildings more beautiful than anything in Washington? In Uruguay, just below Brazil, is the city of Montevidio with five hundred thousand people, cultured and refined; in Argentina, Buenos Aires is the first Spanish-speaking city of the world, the second Latin city after Paris, ranking after New York and Chicago with a population of two millions. Buenos Aires has the finest opera house in the world, the finest newspaper building and plant in all the world, the finest club house in all the world, and the finest race track in all the world.

The average man always thinks of Chili as the home of chili con carne. If you were to pick up the country of Chili and lay it down on the United States, its southern end at San Diego, California, the northern end would go up through Oregon to the heart of British Columbia. Nearly three thousand miles of coast line has Chili in the south temperate zone directly south from this house in which we are meeting to-day. San Diego has a half million people; in Bolivia we could put Texas three times over; Peru would contain Texas twice; in Equador you could put the States of Virginia and Maryland, or you could put these states also into Colombia or Venezuela. You could put all of Germany and all of France into these little nations that I have mentioned. They have also their history. In Lima, Peru, for instance is a university with one thousand students, which was old before Yale or Harvard were founded.

The relation of these countries to the war I am not discussing to-day. Being an international officer, an officer of the neutral countries as well as of the countries that are at war, I cannot discuss the political situation except to make a statement of facts. There are twenty Central and South American countries and thirteen of these have broken off relations with the enemy of the United States and of the Allies without having any treaties which bind them to take this action, without any compulsion on the part of the United States or indeed without any urging on the part of our government. Three of them, Brazil, Cuba and Panama, have declared war. Seven have remained neutral. It is not for me to discuss that fact at all; they are acting according to their best motives, their best reasons; the United States and the Allies must regard that as the situation and hope that the problem will solve itself.

To-day these countries are passing through a marvelous development. As yet they are practically untouched in their resources, and after the war they will come into an economic and commercial development, a political and an educational development that will astound the world. They will draw many men and much capital; they will demand the best of our commerce, the best of our finance, the best of our political advice; and they will unroll a future that will make every one of us proud that they are sister republics in a great union with ourselves.

There is a fine sentiment for you to remember as a reason why you should think of these countries with a degree of obligation. The peoples of these countries are men and women like you. They have thoughts and minds like yours. They want to benefit by our advice, they want our help and coöperation. They want to love us if we will love them in return, and are holding out the hand of friendship. Every one of these countries, every republic from Cuba and Mexico, on to the south, wrote its declaration of independence modeled after our Declaration of Independence; every nation wrote its constitution modeled upon the Constitution of the United States; and every republic gained its independence through the leadership of generals and patriots who in their own histories, in their own biographies, tell you that they, the George Washingtons of the Central and South American countries, were inspired to make the struggle for liberty—not for the example of a Cæsar, a Hannibal or a Napoleon, but every one from Bolivia on the north to San Martin on the south was inspired to fight for liberty by the example of our own immortal George Washington.

# THE SPIRIT OF CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

By Mrs. Peter D. Crerar,

*of Hamilton, Ontario, Dominion of Canada*

You will wonder why an old lady from Canada should be called upon to speak to you this afternoon. But I have got a message, a message which you can voice; you will be mouthpieces of this story that I have got to tell. Do you see that yellow telegram? That is my entrance card into your meeting this afternoon. That's the text that I will read to you, a telegram that I received last Friday:

"Sincerely regret to inform you Lieutenant Allister John Crerar, cavalry official, reported admitted second Red Cross hospital Rouen, France; wounded in leg; severe.
(Signed) Director of Records."

Now, like all the mothers of the States, when we send our boys out, we have to face just what came to me last Friday afternoon. We mothers in Canada have looked after our sons up to the time of this dreadful war as carefully, as prayerfully, as hopefully, as you have looked after your fine boys on this side of the line. Particularly has it been the case, I believe, with the sons of widows, like myself, for without their fathers to guide them we have felt that they were under the special guidance of God. God and mothers look after the sons of widows. We are promised that "the sons of the fathers" shall be provided for.

Consequently, I brought up my fine sons, three of them, and gloried in them; but war came, and in 1914 the eldest boy went. The second day after war was announced he said to me, "Mother, I am in the militia; I am a lieutenant in the artillery, and I must go!" I said, "Surely; surely, my son; God will be with you. Go!" And I stood on the top of the steps in my big house, and I said, "Au revoir, Harry. Come back as good as you go." "I will, mother!"

The next year, 1915, Allister, who lies wounded in Rouen

hospital, passed through the military academy course, and I saw him off with my blessing.

The third year, Malcolm, aged eighteen, just through his Royal Military College course, kissed me and said, "Mother, never be afraid!" and I said, "No." "Keep smiling, mother!" "Yes, my son; I will keep smiling!" And the third son went.

Now, there is a place, gentlemen, ladies, where mothers can not follow their sons. Mothers can not follow their sons to war. Consequently, I have been cut out. But who has been the mother to my sons in sickness "over there"? Why, people, the Red Cross! God is with them always, as he was in Canada in our quiet home life. But I was of no use for the first time in my life. I couldn't nurse my boys back to health. I had to hand them over, and nobly and magnificently the Red Cross have come to my rescue just as they will come to the aid of every one of you American people that send your boys.

Plead, as you go on every platform through this United States what I say, that the Red Cross is the mother of your men, when they are away from their mothers. They look after them in sickness. Look at this. Four days after that boy was wounded in the leg I got full particulars. I have full confidence that Allister will be out of it for the next five or six months, and I thank God that he is in a Red Cross hospital! He lies between clean sheets; he has skillful doctors; he has trained nurses; he has care and comfort of every kind. My boy is looked after probably by many of the people that you folks send, and right here I want to tell—I would like to shake the hands of everybody—to say how glad I am your Red Cross has helped the British Red Cross this last week so magnificently. You have done well. You have done well, and you are going to do better. That is what all this roomful of lecturers are going out to say—"Well, we have done very well so far, but we have to do better!"

And then, you know, the sort of feeling that I have with this yellow telegram as my text, prompts me to tell you for a minute of another yellow telegram that came to me on the third of August last year:

"Regret to report Flight Lieutenant Malcolm Crerar died in Red Cross hospital just behind Ceazy from an accidental fall."

His machine was up three hundred feet and something went wrong. I will find out some time why "something went wrong" with the machine, and caused him to fall. The Red Cross hospital for the three short hours that my baby lived cared for him.

The Red Cross hospital saw that he was decently laid out for interment. The chaplain wrote that he was buried. The Red Cross office sent me a photograph of his grave and the position in the cemetery. The Red Cross looked after him when mother couldn't.

Now, please tell that story. You will be facing here in America in the next few years just what we in Canada faced nearly four years ago, and you will be living through just what I lived through these few years, and you will come at the end of it to feel that there is nothing in this world that is too big to give to help the Red Cross help your boys. Do you get that—to help the Red Cross help your boys; because that is what it means; and if you get that over to the people in the States with your big hearts and your magnificent enthusiasm, I believe that you will make the most wonderful offerings that ever have been made since this old globe was sent hurling through space. I believe it, people; I am sure of it; and I am very, very proud that I have been asked to tell you to-day what we in Canada think of the Red Cross and to tell you at the same time how grateful we are for the help you have already given and to ask you in a very greedy sort of way, you will say, please to go on helping us and helping the Red Cross!

Now having made you see why I came here, I am going to tell you a few little things about what Canada has done in this last time of trial, and what you will, all of you, have to face in a short time. The town I live in is Hamilton, Ontario. It was chiefly founded, I believe, by Scotch people. It is a quiet, comfortable city of about one hundred thousand inhabitants, and from that little quiet Canadian city the best blood has gone, and we have sent an average of seventy per cent. of our men—seven men to every ten have gone. Now, if you can imagine what Hamilton is now to what it was when my boys ran about the streets, you can gain some conception of what I am trying to tell you. It has old men, it has wounded soldiers—about ten to a block, as you walk down the city streets. It has hospitals full. But it has not lost its courage! They say per capita Hamilton—perhaps now you will say—"Isn't that just a bit of brag?" but I will ask you to go to the statistics, and you will find that per capita Hamilton has given more men, more money, than any town in Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and it is prepared to do more, and it will!

Now, you will find at the end of a short time that your men begin to come back. I found my last boy was going, the other two had gone, and I had a big house, and I thought to myself, "Well, now, this is very selfish of me, an old lady, with all my

servants here in this big house, and the boys won't need it for some time yet perhaps; I will give it up to the returned soldiers of Hamilton." And I opened the large drawing rooms, running all the way down the house, nearly as long as this room, and in these two years and seven months I have had the pleasure of entertaining one hundred and fifty-two returned Hamilton soldiers. These are all convalescent soldiers who are so maimed that they will not be able to go back to the front, for the Canadians have convalescent hospitals in England where they send those men who with care for a few months can return and stand up once more against the unspeakable Huns.

Thousands of them have gone back, but those who, through dreadful injuries, through gas, shock, or through any attack like heart trouble, will not be taken back to the front in France, they weed out and send back to Canada; and it is those cases, the convalescent cases, not the hopelessly ill, but the convalescent cases that I have been able to look after in my "Dunedin Home for Convalescent Soldiers."

If I could only give you a picture of those boys, the women in the United States would not be so frightened to let their sons go across. For two years and seven months I have lived with real heroes, though they were only private soldiers!—real heroes! No tales of Greece, no tales of ancient valor, sung by poet or told in story, can match the tales that these men have told me, often with a funny little slang trend to it that just grips you, that you know is the truth. Some of the tales have been so horrible that I couldn't tell them to a mixed audience. I tell them sometimes to people who can stand them; but there are a great many other tales which I think I might perhaps give you an idea of.

You have heard it said that there have been exaggerations in the tales of the atrocities in Belgium. Now, I want to put you in the place of a little cockney that lived for seven months with me, very badly hurt. He had twenty-seven wounds in his body. The doctor said to him when he was brought in, "If you had had twenty-eight, my good man, you would have died!" And he said, "I only had twenty-seven, you see, mamma, and so I am alive!" But those poor twisted legs! A shrapnel shell burst in front of him and he had what they call multiple wounds. He was telling me one day that just before he went up to the front, he was standing guard at the exit to a village in Belgium, acting as a sort of policeman in this village, and he said, "I got an awful scare, mamma, the first night, for out of the convent at the end of the street there came the saddest procession I ever saw. I thought it was a procession of ghosts." And I

asked, "What did it look like?" He replied, "Well, there came first about nine little children. They were the whitest, palest, most sickly looking little ones I ever saw, and when they got close up to me their poor little hands were just wound up in white cloth. Each of them had a hand cut off. Some of them looked as if both of them were cut off. The trigger finger of the boys was cut off, so they could never fight. The little boys and girls walked with nuns beside them, who had black veils over their faces; and then followed the girls they had rescued, for the Germans had passed through there." He said there could not have been anything sadder. He said, "It made my blood run cold to look at them, those white faces, and on these nights, mamma, whenever I was on duty, we used to see this procession of ghosts come out of the convent and go across down the road in the darkness. They were not fit to face the light, after the Germans had done with them." And that was a man who stood there leaning on his rifle and saw them pass and told it to me in his illiterate way. I am trying to give you the picture. They were so dreadful that they were not allowed out in the daytime. The nuns took them out at night. They took a certain round in the environs of the village and came back, and the convent door closed, and they went in. That is a little story of one man that came back to Dunedin.

They told, of course, funny stories also. I do not know that I feel very funny this afternoon. I do not think I can tell you funny stories until after the war is over, and then I will be able to tell you all sorts of funny stories, about what the Dutchman did against the Irishman, and the Irishman against the Scotchman, and all those kind of everlasting stories, which, as you know, would live very vitally in a trench, where you have all sorts of people alongside of you, like a lot of boys having a game to keep things going. But we will have to learn the funny stories after it is all over, because as I look down at this crowd of people I have a sort of feeling as though I were putting ammunition into the breech of a gun for you all to fire!

Believe me, that remark of John Oxman was the truest remark in the world. John Oxman says, "The white fire of a great enthusiasm is the strongest motive power in the world." He strikes out electricity, which we always count as our big thing. A great enthusiasm must be your white fire, and it will carry you very far; it will carry you into the very hearts of the audiences you are going to talk to; but you must have it first. Believe me, if you go out half-heartedly, and if you do not take plenty of the kind of ammunition that I am loading in your cannons this afternoon, your story won't have the impression that

you all desire that it should have. And that is what I want you to feel, that you are all mouthpieces, and you are perhaps the best speakers that have been gathered here from all your states in order to spread a story, and it depends upon you how that story will take and what the result will be. You are the leaders of that as long as you are able to hold the interest of the people in the states to which you are going, and believe me there can be nothing so vital in this April of 1918 as to get the American people to realize the wonderful and the magnificent things they are going to do. You are like children standing on the brink of a stream; you are putting your foot in, and it's a bit cold, and you do not like it. Now, people, tell them to plunge in. Plunge in; be brave; be sure; be sure of the righteousness of your cause, and nothing can hold you back.

Nothing has ever been gained in this world except through sacrifice, except through giving up; nothing from the sacrifice of our Lord upon the Cross, right down to the sacrifice of the wife of the youngest and poorest private that gives up her man. Do not forget that sacrifice is the only way. We have found it in Canada; we are bearing it; and through it all, believe me, there comes the blessing that comes to all those who sacrifice, that curious uplifting of the soul which only comes in that one way. Pleasure does not give it to you; financial success does not give it to you; nothing gives it to you except that feeling in your own soul that you have taken the right step, and that you are doing it, and that you do not mind if all the angels of Heaven are looking down upon you in the day you step out. That is the only thing you must inspire America with, and if you do that, believe me, my friends and cousins of this great country, at the end you will gain what we have already gained in Canada, a deeper religion, a more profound faith that at the end all will be well, and like us you will attain gradually "unto that peace of God which passeth all understanding."

# II: THE UNITED STATES AT WAR

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## WASHINGTON IN WAR TIME

By Louis Brownlow,

*Commissioner of the District of Columbia*

I wish that all of the people of our country could know the history of Washington. In the first place, Washington has always been distinct from other American cities—from other capital cities—always has been a city unique.

What has usually happened at this season of the year before the war came upon us? Why, at this season of the year I always knew that spring had come by the fact that the China-berry trees in Rock Creek Park are breaking into bloom, and it was always most enjoyable to walk through the other beautiful parks of the city and to observe the magnolia trees and some of the early fruit trees in full and beautiful blossom. Every day I used to enjoy driving in Potomac Park, and to see the young trees putting out their new, green foliage. I knew that it would be only a little later when the dogwood trees would begin to bloom in the ravine at Washington Park. Those were the things with which, in the springtime, we of Washington charged our minds. And at this season of the year, it was in these China-berry trees, and the beautiful magnolia blossoms and the dogwood blossoming in the ravine at Rock Creek Park, that we Washingtonians gloried to the utmost.

But now in the place of the green parks that abound in this beautiful city, and particularly in that section of Washington known as a part of the Mall, lying to the south along Seventeenth Street, where the green grass and the foliage of the trees were apt to attract our attention in the early springtime, there are now great white granite buildings and white marble buildings, housing the Red Cross, and the other temporary buildings given over to the several departments of the government, and near at hand is to be seen the beautiful white marble building

of the Pan American Union, a permanent structure. How jealous have we been in the past lest anything encroach upon the beautiful view of the park and the beautiful Pan American building as things of beauty. And just a few years ago all these remained in undisturbed possession of that beautiful section of the city, things we must not abandon to the encroachment of business, or trade or traffic. Above everything else, Washington, the Nation's capital, must be beautiful!

Three or four years ago I did not like to go to New York City. I was a Washingtonian in heart and soul. But now all is changed and I find myself at the head of the city government, a municipality that has some city laws that would make the most hardened New Yorker tremble with fear!

The things that trouble us most now are how can we get the war work of the government accomplished in the best and quickest possible way? How can we get our temporary office buildings into position ready for use as quickly as possible? What we need just now are buildings to house our war workers in. Indeed we have forgotten our old ways; for a little while the "city beautiful" idea is neglected, and we are devoting all our attention to providing places in which the work of the government can be carried on and in which to house the government clerks.

On five different occasions Washington has been the center of war activities. The first time, the city was a struggling little village in a mud-hole, almost impassable, for the mud was deep and sticky in our streets, from the Capitol, which was finished, to the White House, which was but partly completed. Most of the members of Congress had to live in Georgetown, where there were a few boarding houses. One particular building there is a very interesting and historical place—Washington's oldest boarding house of which we have any record. It was opened as a boarding house one hundred years ago. Mr. Jefferson was the first boarder there, and with the exception of three or four years during the Civil War, when it was used by the Union forces for storing ordnance materials, it has been in continuous operation, and, I understand, is now enjoying the most prosperous period of its entire existence!

At the outset it was thought by the founders of Washington that the city would proceed eastward from the Capitol building, and the city was laid out with that thought in view. But contrary to the views of the founders, the progress of the city has been westward from the Capitol, and the Capitol therefore faces a less popular section of the city than that which lies at its

backdoor. Many of the original buildings of Washington still remain. The Capitol has received some additions, and the White House is not quite the same as it was in the early days of the Republic, because, as you know, the British landed within the confines of our city and succeeded in burning the White House and the Capitol. But these were mere incidents in those early and stirring days. The independence of the world itself was only an experiment, and it was very doubtful whether democracy then should triumph. It was receiving its baptism of fire on the shores of this new world.

The next war was conducted far to the southwest, in Texas and in Mexico. Most of the troops that were in that war were recruited in the southern and western states. Washington saw very little of the activity in connection with that war. At that time we had built palatial hotels in the city. The first telegraph office had been opened up just a year before, and the overgrown country village was beginning to look like a real city in some respects. The war, however, affected Washington but very little, as I mentioned before.

The next war was a great struggle between the states. It found Washington an unpaved, struggling town of about sixty thousand people. It was not the beautiful city that you have here now, but it immediately became the center of importance, the heart of the Union. It became for the first time the capital in fact as well as in name, and when, the day after Sumter was fired on and the Federal flag floated over the capitol with a new significance, for the first time the people of the north began to see in Washington something more than a mere meeting place for the administration and Congress. And the great defensive was built up here before the time later on, in July 1864, when the Confederate army penetrated the city, and was in the outskirts of the city—but you can see the bullet holes that were made on that occasion.

The Civil War left Washington with an increase in population of some forty thousand people. The city had grown from forty thousand when Lincoln came here to a hundred thousand before the close of the war, a sixty per cent. increase. Increasing in population to the extent of forty thousand people, it was impossible to get anything done here by local procedure, without warrant of law. So in order to make room for the increased population, they tore down houses and cut down banks, to make streets through high banks, and paved the city, and paved it with bad paving material, and it became necessary to pave it over again the next year, and again, also, the next year, perhaps, and contractors made enormous profits, and there was

great scandal, and Governor Sheppard of the District of Columbia escaped in exile to Mexico, but lived to be recalled and to be paid honors at the hands of the residents of the city, and his statue now stands in front of the Municipal Building.

It took a surgical operation to bring Washington, a struggling village, back to the plane of a magnificent capital, which was laid down in the first instance by General Washington and Mr. Jefferson, and Major L'Enfant. Since that time, Washington has been a city, and since that time Washington, as I indicated a while ago, has more or less affected the beautiful, and it should have done it, because in the beginning it was designed to be a beautiful city.

And I believe that every one of the one hundred and ten millions of Americans wish Washington to be a beautiful city. I do not believe there is an American taxpayer who begrudges the five cents each that is bestowed upon that beautification of his capital, because this is not our town; this is your town. Washington is not a city of the people who live here; it is the city of all of our people, and it is so regarded, I believe.

But now it is not beauty, it is not city planning, it is not architecture alone, it is not a park system. It's war, war and only war that confronts Washington. We have before us at the present time the greatest problem that ever was faced by any city in all the history of the human race. London is a city of seven million people, the largest city in the world. It is the capital of a nation of forty-five millions of people, and London has not been able, with the facilities that existed at the beginning of the war, to take care of the war work of Great Britain. Berlin had a population of about three million when the war began,—the capital of a country of sixty-five or seventy millions of people, and Berlin, with the facilities that it had at the beginning of the war, was not able to carry on the war work of the German Empire. So with Paris; so with Vienna; so with Petrograd. But here we are a nation of a hundred and ten millions of people, backed by greater resources per capita than are possessed by the people of any of the other belligerent nations, and here we are a little city of three hundred and fifty thousand only, and we have to carry on the job of conducting the war shop for this more than one hundred millions of people! That is why I say we have the greatest municipal problem ever faced by any city. You would think that London, with seven millions of people, perhaps not ideally housed, but certainly housed, you would think that when that city lost hundreds of thousands of men that went to the front, thousands and thousands of women who left the city and went to the land, or went to the munition factories in

the country, that London would not have a housing problem for her clerks, but she has. The war so intensified the life of the great British metropolis, the war so interfered with and so congested the street transportation system, that London had to provide temporary housing facilities for no less than forty thousand of her clerks in the war and admiralty offices, and built those temporary houses, those dormitories and barracks, in St. James Park and in Green Park, right between the War Office at Whitehall and Buckingham Palace. We have not done anything of the kind yet. Because there was so much to do in building for the war offices here, we have not got to the temporary housing yet, although the problem is well under way, and we will take care of these people within the next few months.

We had, just a year ago at the beginning of the war, a population of 360,000 people. We now have a population of 450,000 people. We have grown 90,000 in twelve months, and I estimate that if the war shall continue we shall increase at least another 90,000 in the next twelve months. That means it is hard to get any place to sleep; it means it's hard to get anybody over the telephone; it means that it is impossible almost to get a seat on the street car; it means that it will be difficult to get enough water next summer; it means it is difficult to take care of the health situation; it means that it is difficult to take care of the garbage; it means that it is difficult to take care of the details of possible fire menace,—and all the thousand and one things that enter into the great problem of municipal housekeeping; but we are not doing it for ourselves; we are doing it for the country, we are doing it for you; and we who live here are willing and glad to suffer privation, to put up with inconvenience, and to bring ourselves every hour of every day to the conscious understanding of the fact that our main business here is taking care of the great central power plant of the war machine. In so far as we in our daily life can do anything to assist the government in carrying on the war, we feel that our efforts are well worth while, and that we are not in the way in Washington. In so far as we do not assist the work of that government, we are merely hangers-on and lingerers, and the quicker we go somewhere else the better it will be for all of us.

Ninety thousand people have come in, I think, since the first of the war. That was actually determined by a very careful census taken in the first of November, and the increase then was discovered to be fifty thousand. That did not take into account the transients living in hotels who were not living within the census, nor did it take into account some thousands of young men who were at the camps within the city,—the American Uni-

versity Engineering Training Camp, Camp Meigs, the Engineers' Camp at Washington Barracks. It did not take into account some thousands of young men in uniform, soldiers and sailors and marines, who are living within the city. Since that census was taken, the government has employed clerical assistance at the rate of about eight thousand per month, and for every eight clerks who come in at least two other persons are demanded. So I believe that my calculation of ninety thousand increase for the first year of the war, which does include the men in uniform, because they are here in the city, and to a certain extent are a part of the municipal life,—I am sure that that is conservative rather than otherwise.

As long ago as last May I began to appeal to people to open their houses to war workers. The first group to whom I made the appeal were the pastors of the churches. Within a month after war began I had a meeting of all of the pastors of the churches of the city, Catholic, Protestant, Jews, and asked them to appeal to their people, to people who never dreamed of taking in lodgers, to open up their homes. The response to that appeal was very good indeed. It has been followed by appeal after appeal; it has been followed by house to house canvass; it has been followed by other meetings, and the house to house canvassing again resorted to: so that as to the housing facilities here in Washington,—the sponge now takes up another drop of water most reluctantly. We have almost reached a point of complete saturation. We can house only a few more people here in the houses already built.

And when it comes to building new houses it is difficult anywhere, but especially difficult here, because the government needs so much building material for the buildings it is erecting that it is almost impossible for the private builders to get any material. Take for instance this new Washington Hotel in which we are meeting to-day. It's many weeks overdue. It should have been finished weeks ago, but we not only had the difficulty of freight embargo, but the terrible blizzard last winter, and I remember on one occasion at least during the very bad cold weather when the work on this building would have ceased completely if I had not loaned the private contractors who were erecting this building all the building sand that the municipality happened to possess, which was at that time ninety cubic yards. It is impossible to get material to build new houses with, and if we had the material it is almost impossible to get the labor!

However, the conditions this year and the conditions so far as housing are concerned that obtain in a great many industrial cities where war work is being carried on are to be met by a

measure which already has passed the House of Representatives, is now pending in the Senate, and I believe the members of the committee will pass it. It carries an initial authorization of some sixty million dollars for housing, fifty million dollars to be spent in housing the employees of industrial plants engaged in war work all the way from Maine to California, and ten millions of dollars for the war workers who are coming to Washington.

It is a very different problem. The mechanic whom you want to go to your plant in Maine or Oregon has his family, and he wants to take his family with him, and you must provide family houses. We do not want any families coming to Washington, nor women coming to Washington. All we want is thirty thousand unattached girls who are coming here in the next twelve months. The thirty thousand is not a figure of speech; the thirty thousand is about eighteen hundred less than the actual number as estimated by the chief clerks of the various departments. We are expecting twelve thousand girls here between now and the first of July, twelve thousand girls between now and the last of June, the end of this fiscal year. What are we going to do with them? That's what we have to figure out. We have got to build homes for them, and, as I say, this measure has not passed Congress yet, but I believe I know something of the ideas of those charged with this work. That is, we are going to build huge dormitories, great Y. W. C. A. buildings, probably not under the direct auspices of the Y. W. C. A., but I use that as a figure of speech which you will all understand. Those buildings will give each girl a comfortable room, the privacy that is necessary and desirable, buildings where they are going to have recreation rooms, gymnasiums, places to receive their friends and callers, places for games, for dancing, for all of the things necessary to keep the patriotic girls happy and contented. We are going to make arrangements at the same time to get them food that will be sanitary, wholesome, and at not exorbitant prices. We have got to do it, because the girls who come here to do the clerical work, the ten, fifteen, twenty thousand that already have come, the thirty thousand that are coming here shortly, are just as necessary to winning the war as the men that we are raising and sending over seas to Flanders. We have got to take care of them, and we are going to do it, and the girl anywhere in the country who wants to do her part, who would come here, who is competent to do it, who wants to come here and carry her share of the burden of conducting this great central war machine, will be well taken care of by the city and the people of the national capital.

I do not know hardly what to say about the war machine it-

self. I am looking at the thing as you see, only from the municipal angle. What I see in it personally is that it's extremely difficult to police a town that has grown ninety thousand, from three hundred and sixty thousand to four hundred and fifty thousand, in a year, extremely difficult to police that when you have ninety vacancies on your police force!

What I see mostly about the building of the enormous temporary buildings, such as you see in the rear of the building where you had your meetings yesterday, such as you see at Sixth and B Streets on the site of the old Pennsylvania station, acres, tens of acres, hundreds of acres of these huge temporary wooden buildings have gone up, and it's my job to keep them from burning up,—with thirty vacancies on the fire department!

Years and years ago,—you know Washington always had the habit of starting out by a system of over preparation,—Mr. Jefferson and Major L'Enfant laid out a city here. We have not begun to live up to their plan yet. You could take care of two millions of people on the original plan of Washington if people lived as crowded as they did in the days when that plan was made. We always over prepared. Some sixty years ago, Mr. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was Secretary of War, and he decided that Washington needed a more adequate water supply; so he, as Secretary of War, got through Congress, and with the assistance of General Meigs as Quartermaster General, built an aqueduct which takes in water just above Great Falls of the Potomac, and brings it to Washington. He was most severely criticized for building an aqueduct that would take care of a city, in the way people then used water, many, many times as large as Washington was then. But we have been thinking it was all right, that Mr. Davis knew what he was doing, and that we have plenty of water. We had an aqueduct with a capacity of ninety million gallons a day and a consumption of sixty million, and we had a safe margin; but since this war started our consumption has gone up to eighty-eight million, not regularly, but on some days,—up to within two million gallons a day of the capacity of that aqueduct. We are going to have a hard time getting water. The new concrete buildings that are building down on Potomac Park for the offices of the War and the Navy Department,—for the first time we have had to refuse them water, so they have had to put in a pumping station to bring the water necessary for consumption purposes up from the river itself.

It is awfully hard to keep up with the procession, with water mains, with the sewers, with the fire department, with the police, so that even when we look at the war problem only from the angle of municipal functions, of the District Government, we

have a tremendous job. But this is what we are going to do. Where the city of seven million has carried on the work for a nation of forty-five million, we, a city of three hundred and fifty thousand, intend to do it adequately and sufficiently for a nation of one hundred and ten million! If it is possible by as much physical work as may be given, by as much mental work as our capacities shall permit, and by a devotion absolute and entire, we who are now in charge of your national capital intend that your national capital shall live up to the obligations imposed upon it by this, its greatest crisis.

# WHY CONGRESS DECLARED WAR

By Simeon D. Fess,

*Member of the House of Representatives from Ohio*

Just as soon as we found that Great Britain was going to be involved in the war, we knew that it would extend to the open sea, and in that case it was inevitable, almost, that the United States would be involved, either in controversy or in actual struggle. At first, you will remember, there was an attempt of leading countries to confine the war between the two original disputants, Austria and Serbia. It was not long until the world saw that was impossible. Later on it was attempted to confine it to a certain region in Europe; to limit belligerent territory. We soon discovered there was no hope in that. When, as I said before, we learned that Great Britain would be involved, we saw instantly the grave possibilities, because the struggle would be between the greatest military power of the world and the greatest naval power of the world, and it would be a real fight when viewed from a military standpoint between, as was originally stated, militarism on the one side and navalism on the other, which has become autocracy on one side and democracy on the other. That assured us that the area of the war would extend to the open sea. Our nation has been for decades coming to the position of a world power, which must mean she is looking to the sea. No country can become a world power that does not become a power on the sea. Our country has been growing as a power on the sea for a half century, and realizing that the open sea would likely be an arena of warfare, and we having rights on the sea which must not only be respected, but which must grow, it was our duty to ascertain whether we could induce the belligerent countries to agree upon a mode of naval warfare, that is, warfare that reaches the sea, as neutral and belligerent rights have never been free of doubt. Consequently, our nation addressed a simultaneous note to all the belligerent powers immediately upon the outbreak of war and asked them if they would agree to adopt the Declaration of London, the result of a conference in 1909, five years before this war opened, and accept that conference's report as the mode

of warfare on the high seas. Unfortunately, for us, and the world, the countries would not agree to it. In due time we sent a second note and asked them if they would agree to certain specific limitations of warfare on the seas so as to avoid any ambiguity or misunderstanding whatever as to rights of the belligerents on the one hand and neutrals on the other. Our specific notes were very clearly stated, free of any ambiguity whatever.

First, that no belligerent country would sow the open seas with floating mines. Second, that where belligerent countries have a right to plant stationary mines along the coast, only such stationary mines as would cease to be dangerous if broken away from their moorings should be planted. And, third, that no belligerent should use the submarine except under the restrictions of international law.

Those are the three, easily remembered. Unfortunately for us, and I think for all the world, the nations did not see their way clear to accept them. Having failed twice to induce the belligerent powers to agree upon a stated warfare in limitation on the seas, we did the only thing that was left us, or that any nation could do. We withdrew formally both of these requests and announced to all the world that we would now take our stand on international law as it is written and as it has been practiced by all nations, including those at war, and we would hold every nation to a rigid respect of that law, as interpreted in rule and practice. That meant that of course we ourselves could not violate it, nor even modify it in time of war without the consent of all the parties in interest. That put an obligation upon us that whether we wanted to or not we had to respect.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, notice the first embarrassment. International law as written in the seventh article of The Hague Conference gives to every belligerent country the right to purchase munitions from a neutral country. That permits citizens of a neutral country to sell munitions to a belligerent country. That article was not only observed by the United States, but it was urged in the conference by the United States as a peace measure, and our country urged it for this reason; we are not a military power; we did not want to be compelled to build munition plants throughout our country; we preferred to stand upon the right that if we should become involved in war we could go to the neutral countries and buy the things we need rather than be compelled to build up a military regime here. It was looked upon by us as a peace measure. And the right to purchase munitions by a belligerent country from a neutral has not only been practiced by the belligerents, but had been endorsed and demand-

ed by Germany in both the Boer War and the Russo-Japanese War. But when Germany saw her fleet driven off the sea by the superior Briton to take refuge in the Kiel Canal, with her enemy's fleet still on the sea, she realized that her right to buy munitions was nugatory, because she could not deliver what she could buy, while Great Britain could both buy and deliver. Then Germany seized upon a pretext, and said, in substance, "Admitting our right to buy, we demand that since we cannot deliver, if you do not forbid sale to Great Britain you thereby become an ally of our enemy." And we notified Germany that her inability to purchase munitions is not America's wrong. It is Germany's misfortune. And since this is a right recognized in international law, which we have demanded that all must respect, even your misfortune is not a sufficient ground for us to violate it, and we refuse to do it!

Germany made her purpose plain when she announced to us, and the announcement was made to Mr. Gerard, "We will not trifle with America. After the war we will settle with you." And then Germany began her book account. She told us that if any German citizen or soldier was killed or wounded by an American shell fired from a British or French gun, America would have to pay for it. What was she doing that for? The answer will be found in her promise to the people of Germany that they would not suffer the financial burden of war. The war had not gone on two years until Germany's promise to her people that they would not need to pay the cost of the war because they would collect an indemnity from their enemy,—two years was sufficient to convince Germany that very probably these countries would not be able to pay an indemnity. She was therefore quite willing to pick a quarrel to lay the groundwork for a claim to collect an indemnity from the only nation that could pay it. That was America. And she began that groundwork for a money damage in a book account because of the munition question. If you have any suggestion or doubt as to what Germany would have demanded of us if she could have had the power, think of what she has demanded of Russia; four hundred square miles of territory and four billion dollars' indemnity is the sum to-day that is announced. She thought America could pay, and whatever was necessary to do she was laying her claims so that she would have a basis for it.

Another question of diplomacy that became difficult, because we had taken our position on international law, was the blockade. Great Britain began to blockade the coast of Germany. That was her right. We informed the nations, and especially Great Britain, "As long as the blockade is made effectual, we will re-

spect it." We also assured them that we will not respect it unless it is valid, and to be valid it must be effectual. No nation can maintain a paper blockade. International law defines blockade. The blockading squadron must be a cordon of battleships or war vessels capable of seizing and successfully taking any vessel that undertakes to run the blockade. If a belligerent wants to exercise the right under international law to blockade, the United States will recognize it and respect it, provided it becomes effectual, so that Holland cannot break it, and Denmark does not break it, and Norway and Sweden and Spain do not break it. But if a nation like England permits such a blockade that America is expected to stay out and at the same time other neutral nations may go in, and thus exclude America from trade while permitting the vessels of other nations to carry on trade, then we will not respect it because in that case the blockade is invalid, ineffectual, and illegal, as well as indefensible. That is the gist of the famous Lansing note of October 21st. After some sharp words by us Britain closed up her cordon of battleships, put them out into the offing, made them effective, and from that hour, ladies and gentlemen, this nation respected the blockade as the right of Great Britain to blockade the coast of her enemy.

The question at once was propounded by those in sympathy with Germany, "You respected Great Britain's blockade of the coast of Germany. Did you respect Germany's blockade of the coast of England?" No; nothing to respect! Never was there a German blockade of the British coast. A nation cannot blockade the coast of a country with her blockading squadron hiding under shelter in the Kiel Canal where it has been from the beginning of the war! Germany did not call her restraints a blockade. Only some foolish Americans called it a blockade. It is not known in international law as a blockade.

Germany, knowing she could not blockade the coast of Great Britain, invented a new scheme. What was it? The barred zone. She struck a line out in the open sea and announced to us that "these are barred waters; this is a danger zone, and if your ships go into it they will be sunk." Why, ladies and gentlemen, is that the penalty of running a blockade? Not at all. International law says that if a blockade is run the runner runs the risk of total loss because if his vessel is seized, his cargo can be confiscated; so can the vessel. But the vessel cannot be sunk; and more than that, no nation is allowed to commit murder. The extent of the penalty of running a blockade is the loss of the vessel and cargo without any recourse in law. The owner will have no recovery, because the blockade has been announced, and

if it is broken the runner goes through at his own risk, and if he is captured he loses all recourse of recovery. What did Germany purpose? "If you go in these waters we will seize your vessel and your cargo and confiscate them?" No. "We will sink your cargo and your vessel; we will sink the workingmen, the crew, and we will sink every passenger on the ship! We will give no chance for escape." Germany substantially declared, "If you go in these waters, we will commit open murder on the seas." That was what she said to us when she was issuing orders about a barred zone.

Many have asked whether we did not observe a barred zone of the North Sea for Great Britain. Certainly not. The North Sea barred zone is nothing more nor less than an announcement of Great Britain that "these waters have been planted with mines. These waters have been sown with mines by both Germany and Great Britain; any vessel entering without direction might strike a floating mine. Therefore it would be wise for vessels coming in to follow certain instructions. Come to a certain port of call; there take a pilot which will be furnished you, and you will be piloted to a lighthouse immediately beyond which you can go in perfect safety so far as Great Britain is concerned." There was no order to stay out. There was an announcement that the water was dangerous. Every vessel followed that instruction but two. Both of these went outside; both were sunk. Nobody to this hour knows whether they struck a British or a German mine. But the British order was simply an announcement of dangerous waters that it would be well for nations to observe when they undertake to go through, while the German announcement was an order "to stay out upon the penalty of death, for if you don't we will torpedo you!" One offers a way to reach an adjustment in court: the other is an adjustment by the force of the torpedo.

The citizen who has thought that we were holding Germany to a "strict accountability" and were loose with Great Britain is misguided. We had our disputes with the British Government also. The government was attempting to keep its pledge to stand on international law and that we would hold every other country to it; and that is why we had such a bitter dispute. That is why our dispute with Great Britain on the blockade and restraint of trade was keen if not bitter. This is the volume on our dispute with Germany. The volume on our dispute with Great Britain is fully double this. That is, we had a good deal more controversy with Great Britain than we did with Germany, but our difference with Great Britain never extended to anything beyond property rights, and property rights could and ought to

be adjusted in a court. Our difference with Germany extended beyond property rights, and to the life of American citizens, and you cannot take a money damage for the life of an American citizen!

Our final word to Germany on the barred zone dispute was, "We will hold you to a strict accountability if any American citizen suffers from this order." Ladies and gentlemen, the open sea belongs to no nation; it belongs to all nations. The open sea has laws made by nations. Those laws are not made in the interest simply of belligerent countries. They are made in the interest of neutral countries as well, and America, as a neutral nation, had as much ground to demand respect of her rights upon the sea as Germany, as a belligerent, had as a war power. And that is all we asked.

I made an address in the House of Representatives on the eleventh of January, 1916, in which I spent most of my time in discussing our relationship with England as affected by her various orders in Council. A famous German scholar, then domiciled in this city, but now interned, I understand, came to my office because he seemed to like what I said and must have thought I had some sympathy for Germany since he had the audacity to ask me to introduce or at least favor a resolution to compel Great Britain to lift her blockade to the extent of allowing milk to go to the children in Germany. "Why," I said to him, "Doctor, you are an international lawyer, and fully acquainted with the rules and practices governing blockade. America is neutral. England has effectually blockaded your coast, for this is in evidence by your request. America has no right, absolutely none, to interfere with it, so long as it is made effectual, and of course we shall not interfere with it." A great many people unacquainted with international law thought America was inhuman because we would not do what they were not aware we had no right to do. We could not interfere with that belligerent right unless we were ready to become unneutral, and Germany found we would not. Then our trouble became imminent. The distinguished representative of this country at Berlin was refused audience with the Emperor on the ground, as he said, "I shall receive the representative of no country that allows the sale of munitions of war to our enemies;" and when after months of waiting our distinguished representative sent word through Von Hollweg not to bother further with his request to have an audience with the Kaiser. The Kaiser in five days sent for Gerard—wanted to see him then! We were then told, ladies and gentlemen, in unmistakable terms, that Germany intended to hold America responsible. Here was the basis of a

future demand to place the cost of this war upon us on the basis that we did not do certain things that we had no right and could not legally do at all.

Then finally came the submarine question, with all of its dire possibilities when in the hands of a country dominated as is Germany. Recognizing this danger, we made it clear to all countries that international law must here be respected also. We informed Germany that if she confines the use of the submarine to the stopping of vessels, to the entering upon the vessels, and to the searching of these vessels, all of which were her belligerent rights, we shall respect all that. But it must be confined to that. For that much is your right. But if a vessel is sunk without warning, and no chance to escape, the nation will hold her to a strict accountability. What was Germany's answer? She declared that a submarine was so frail and carried so few people that it was impossible for it to go out and haul up to a large vessel with a large crew, and take it into a prize court under the regulations of international law, that they would be captured themselves if they undertook to do it, and intimated an intention to ignore these requirements on the claim that they could not do that. Then we replied in substance, "If the submarine can not obey international law, then belligerents must not use the submarine!" Germany's reply to that statement was couched in no uncertain terms, for we were told in brutal language, "There is no international law!" That is the word of the head of the most brutal imperial government that has ever been conceived in the imagination of man. "There is no international law!" Think of it! Then we knew what we were up against. Ladies and gentlemen, if an American ship is on the sea that is American soil. If an American citizen stands on the deck of that ship he stands under the folds and protection of the American flag, and upon American soil, and if he is attacked by a war vessel it is war!

What did Germany do? Her aeroplane attacked the *Cushing;* a submarine sunk the *Gulflight* on which two American citizens perished; another torpedo sunk the British ship *Falaba* that carried Mr. Leon Thrasher, an American Consul, and he perished. On April 22 the frightfully insulting announcement was made by the Imperial Government of Germany, published in the American press, announcing that any American citizen taking passage on vessels flying the enemy flag, which would include the British, you know, did it at his own risk. That was April 22. May 7 the tragedy of the war came on, and the *Lusitania,* with her one hundred and fourteen American citizens and a thousand or more citizens of other countries, went down in

obedience to that brutal edict that—"There is no international law now!"

Now, the world knows the story. We took the entire summer trying to adjust this with Germany. Many citizens think our proper course should have been an immediate declaration. Germany's answers never were satisfactory but always suggestive at a measure of strength, and finally, after the whole summer had gone, and the nation in her anxiety over her failure because she had been attempting to reach an adjustment in good faith, Germany came with her answer, and her reply was not from Berlin. The answer was from the submarine on the sea in the attack upon the *Sussex*, which was a harmless English channel vessel that carried nothing but passengers, simply as a ferry, that could not have been dangerous under any sort of description or definition, nor could it have been a battleship or a war vessel of any kind; a harmless channel vessel; four hundred and fifty citizens in jeopardy, whose lives were attempted to be destroyed by the order of that cruel imperial government that undertook to terrorize the world by its frightfulness. President Wilson had reached the point where patience no longer could be counseled. His parley with Germany became subject to severe unrest and impatience. He sent word on April 25 that unless this act were disavowed, and assurance given that no further attacks of this character would be made, we would be compelled to break off diplomatic relations with Germany. I think Germany realized that the voice of the Nation was then heard, and that was exactly what the Country would do because Germany came with her answer, and specifically promised that there would be no further attacks; and she gave an order to this effect to her submarine captains, and if I mistake not our country received copies of the order, so that there could not be any ambiguity about their meaning except this—there was one thing at the end of the note that was a little dangerous, in which Germany said, "Germany will expect the United States to adjust their difference with England," and so on. We had to reply again. The President did it with his usual facility in the use of the English language. He did it by explaining that Germany must not make a condition of her adjustment with us any sort of a settlement with England, because these matters were different. One could not be confused with the other. Each had to stand on its own bottom. He was right. But that was the only thing that was found in the note that indicated to our people that Germany might not keep her word to us not to resume. That was early in 1916.

You know what happened. Times were heavy with possible consequences; they were freighted with momentous possibil-

ities all through 1916, and finally the decisive moment came. It was on January 31, 1917, six hours before the order was to go into effect, that our representative at Berlin was handed the startling and astounding information that that night at midnight the submarine warfare would be resumed. After assurances repeatedly given that no further attacks on unarmed merchantmen would be made, the Imperial Government of Germany revealed its real character by this sudden announcement, which reached this country on the first of February. Two days later the President addressed Congress, and informed the country that he had dismissed Bernstorff and recalled Gerard; in a word had severed diplomatic relations with Germany. He then stated his intention, in case Germany persisted in her submarine order, to come before Congress again. All the world will recall the numerous attacks which followed. On the 26th of February the President again came and asked authority for armed neutrality. Ladies and gentlemen, it should be remembered that the President already had this power, but I presume he wished the moral effect of a vote of confidence by the law-making body. On the same day I introduced resolution calling the 65th Congress into special session on April 2nd, 1917, as the sitting Congress must end by constitutional limitation on March 4th, and unless called in special session the 65th Congress would not convene until the following December. Knowing the imminence of war, I wanted the law-making body in session. My resolution was not acted upon. The 64th Congress died March 4th and members returned to their homes. Attacks by the submarines were multiplying, and the purpose of Germany to make war on us was no longer in doubt. The President sent out the call for a special session of the 65th Congress to convene April 16th, but owing to the aggression of the German war machine, he sent a hurry call for April 2nd.

On that date he delivered his war message which became at once the matter before the two Houses.

The temper of the Congress was well displayed by the conduct of the House. Its first duty was to organize. The political situation was such that indefinite delay could have been had in case it were desired. There were 215 Democrats, 215 Republicans and 5 Independents. This was the membership of the House April 2nd, 1917. If it had been thought desirable from a partisan point of view the organization could have been held up for a week by parliamentary strategy. But the temper of the House was such that a few test votes were taken, the House was organized by evening, and at 8.30 that evening the President addressed the two Houses in joint session.

The House took up the war resolution on the 5th of April.

Ladies and gentlemen, many times I have been asked what was the dominant thought of Congress when it took the fateful step to enter this world war. My answer in a single sentence is to defend our honor and save our lives as a nation. Our honor had been assailed for at least two years, during which time we were endeavoring to maintain a neutral position.

Our life was at stake from the beginning of Germany's determination to use the submarine, although many members declined to admit it.

Germany's perfidy was so hidden at times that most of us refused to believe the facts. And not until confronted by overwhelming and conclusive evidence would it be admitted.

I wish you to pay special attention to the Zimmermann note of date January 19, 1917, twelve days before the resumption of the ruthless submarine warfare, as evidence of national perfidy unequal to anything in the history of civilization. This note was drafted and signed by Mr. Zimmermann, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the German Cabinet. Please note the date, January 19, several days before the submarine warfare was resumed. What is the purport of the note? A proposal to the Government of Mexico to join Germany in a war with the United States and to induce Japan to join, and the note further authorized Mexico to act as intercessor between Japan and Germany, and then the height of arrogancy was reached when the note promised Mexico that in case she joined in the conspiracy Germany would cede to Mexico Texas, New Mexico and Arizona!

Ladies and gentlemen, when that began to filter out to the public people said, "Another lie! Germany would not do such a thing as that!" Why, Bernstorff was domiciled here in the capital of the Republic and the nations were at peace, and I admit it was inconceivable that a powerful nation like Germany would with her representative sheltered in the very capital of this country itself be designing and intriguing to involve America in war with Mexico and Japan, with both of which we had had pleasant relations in the past, although at times quite sensitive, it is true, and the people felt that such perfidy could not be true. But, ladies and gentlemen, the note never reached the German Minister. It was intercepted on the border and brought here to this city, and our authorities had it long before we declared war. There can not be any doubt as to what Germany meant. That was as conclusive evidence, coming right from the German Government, as anybody could want.

And then we began to estimate the promise of Germany.

Germany promised her people that the submarine campaign would bring Great Britain to her knees by April. She believed it.

The German Government has been dismally disappointed in three items. The first item was when Germany promised that the people of Germany would not have to pay for the war. I think they are rather doubtful about being able to keep that promise to-day! The second was when the promise was made by the Kaiser himself in the early August at Potsdam, when he looked out over the people and said, "Your soldiers will be back in their homes before the leaves fall from the trees." That meant the war would be over in three months. Now, he was honest, he was sincere, in this statement. Ladies and gentlemen, he was thinking of the war with Denmark in 1864. That lasted a little over three weeks. They got what they wanted. He was also thinking of the war with Austria in 1866 that lasted only a month, and they got what they wanted. His mind was on the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 or '71 that lasted less than six weeks; and with the German army in Paris a treaty was concluded at Versailles that passed over from France Alsace-Lorraine and an indemnity of four billion marks. The longest war was less than six weeks; the shortest one about three. And now, certainly, after having gotten ready for forty-four years with an empire built on the foundation of a perfect military machine, so that every feature of it, including all the resources of men and money, could be commanded by one head, the Kaiser felt sure that when he promised that the soldiers would be back in their homes in three months he was making a rational promise which he could keep. But it is now approaching the end of four years and the soldiers are not back yet, and in my judgment they will only go back when they are driven across the Rhine by the American soldiers!

The third disappointment was their promise that the submarine would bring England to her knees by the first of April. You noticed them change that date to the first of June, and then to October!

The submarine is a dangerous element, as everybody knows. That pirate of the underworld—you can not tell where it is. It is a most difficult thing to handle. It is not out of the way yet, and one of our greatest problems is to clear the sea of the submarine, desperate thing to undertake, we all admit; but Germany has not kept her promise, and I think the main reason why she has not is because of the skill of the American gunner that is now on the waves in the Irish Sea and the danger zones. Of course, it is still dangerous, but this is what we feared—I want everybody to get these few closing words—if the food on the

sea could be successfully attacked by the submarine so that the British and French and Italian could be isolated, and would thus be deprived of their supply of food from across the sea, Germany would make good her promise. We all know that England must be fed from across the seas. As long as the sea is open, Australia, New Zealand, India, South Africa can join Canada and supply England's necessities, but with the sea closed those countries can not supply much. The food must come from America, because those other countries are three times the distance; that takes three times the tonnage; that makes three times the hazard. You can not depend upon that source of supply, and we saw it, and we recognized that if Germany through the submarine could have secured control of the sea so as to shut off all food, she would have a weapon in her hand, namely, starvation, that is worse than any big gun she will ever invent; if she could have starved those countries through the submarine by stopping all food, the first thing Germany would do to Great Britain and to France would be to relieve them from further burdens of indemnity. All she would demand would be to transfer her fleet to Germany, and, of course, if these countries had starvation facing them, and they knew it, that condition might be possible. Pause long enough to think of such fatality. Suppose Germany could have come into possession of the British fleet and the French fleet and joined them with the German fleet, there would be placed under the direction of his lawless war lord a power on the sea many times the ability of the American fleet, no matter how brilliant would be our fleet. It would not last twenty-four hours in a struggle with such a power. We readily saw that not only had the honor of America been assaulted but here was the possibility of the very life of the nation being in jeopardy. We decided to take orders no longer from any nation that commanded us to get off the sea, and cease to be a nation until the war is ended, and we chose, my friends, as the last resort, the only way, it seemed to me, that we could have chosen. We at last decided to accept the challenge, and refuse to allow the flag, that up to this hour had never been lowered in dishonor, now to be dragged in the dust. We declared that we would not allow it now to be dishonored. We were open-eyed to the awful consequences of war voted a year ago Saturday, taking the vote at three o'clock in the morning, to take the step to defend the honor and the life of this nation.

# THE JUSTIFICATION OF THE WAR WITH GERMANY

By Robert L. Owen,

*Senator of the United States from Oklahoma*

I was glad to leave the duties which otherwise would have required my attendance at the Capitol this morning, in order to have the opportunity of pointing out to you some things which I hope will enable you better to serve the people of the United States, in explaining to them the justification of the war with Germany. It is impossible for any man within the brief time I may detain you now to go into these details fully, and I shall not attempt to do so, but I will point out to you where you can find every necessary detail in the most compact form; where you may have at your disposal this record; and I am going to ask you to take a few notes while I give you this record, because I will point you to where you may get this evidence, overwhelming, complete, convincing beyond anything that I could say to you with your present limited time.

I call your attention to the *Congressional Record,* page 714, of April 16, 1917, an address which I made to the Senate of the United States on the justification of the war with the Imperial Government of Germany; I call your attention to the arraignment of William II by Siegfried Balder, a group of Germans in Switzerland, who knew William II and who indicted him and who give the details of the indictment on page 1011 (January, 1918) *Congressional Record.* On page 1591, *Congressional Record* of January 31, 1918, you will find the historical data justifying this war with Germany, compiled by one of the great historians of the United States, and submitted by me in an address to the Senate, with much other interesting confirmatory data.

On page 3128, *Congressional Record,* March 2, 1918, you will find some interesting data on Alsace-Lorraine, showing the justification of the French in this matter.

In order to justly appraise what this war is, we must understand its historical base. It is no new contest between the few and the many, between autocratic government and democratic government. It is a very old contest. It is a contest between

organized military forces marching under the banners of the so-called "divine rights", to rule, against the military forces of the democracy of the world, claiming the right for the people to rule themselves; the claim of Kings versus the claim of free men to self government.

The most blasphemous document that ever appeared in history was the document known as the treaty of the Holy Alliance. It was nothing more than an ostentatious proclamation and protestation of Christian virtue by the ruling heads of the houses of Romanoff, Hohenzollern, Hapsburg and Bourbon, declaring themselves to be servants of God, declaring themselves to be the humble instruments of God by which and through whom the doctrines of Christ should be carried out on earth. It was a monstrous piece of damnable camouflage and hypocrisy by which to robe themselves in the claimed attributes and virtues of Christ while secretly they throve upon the misery and the slavery of millions of human beings under military tyranny and bondage at a time when their own courts were full of personal corruption, when their courts were full of moral and spiritual degradation. They set themselves up as the representatives of Christ on earth in order to impress their people with the conception that the Prince was synonymous with the great Creator, that the Prince was the servant of God, appointed by God as King and Ruler, that the Prince serves as the instrument of God; and William II still keeps up this deadly pretense of companionship and of unionship and of partnership with God—and with God at last in the Second place! You may recall his early telegrams sent to the Empress, where he explained to the Empress on more than one occasion that God had gloriously supported the Crown Prince! The only wonder is that he had not conferred the iron cross of the first degree on his Teutonic Hohenzollern God as a reward of military merit!

Let us go back to this famous treaty, the so-called treaty of the Holy Alliance. It was modified in 1822 by what was called the secret treaty of Verona, which I have had inserted in the *Congressional Record* four times in the hope that somebody would inadvertently read it. This secret treaty of Verona I want you to listen to. It is vital. It contains the basis of the present war. It contains the tap root from which this war has sprung. It is the foundation upon which the Monroe Doctrine was written. The secret treaty of Verona, Article I (this is between Alexander I, the head of the Romanoff family of Russia, Frederick William of Prussia (Hohenzollern), Francis Joseph of Austria (Hapsburg) and Louis XVIII, the head of the Bourbons of France, who was put upon the French throne by the

autocracies of Europe when Napoleon was defeated at Waterloo, 1815), alleges the following principles—in substance. Article I sets forth the doctrine,

WHEREAS *representative government* is by its nature *antagonistic* to *the government of princes* and the so-called *popular sovereignty* is *necessarily hostile* to *government by divine right,* we hereby solemnly agree that we will suppress this heresy throughout Europe, and throughout the world, wherever it may make its appearance.

Do you get that? It was a solemn covenant of deadly and continuous war on popular government. Article II is to the effect,

WHEREAS, *the freedom of the press is the instrument through which demagogues teach popular sovereignty, we hereby agree to suppress the freedom of the press throughout our dominions and throughout Europe.*

Do you get that? A solemn covenant between the autocracies, the Divine few, to suppress the free speech of the ungodly many. They have suppressed it in Germany and in Austria. They are carrying out that Doctrine to-day. Under that secret treaty of Verona, the people of Spain who had revolted against absolute monarchy were assailed by the Bourbon troops, the troops of France, under Bourbon leadership (1822) and under a subsidy paid by the King of twenty million francs per annum stolen from the taxes of the people. Under this treaty the *limited* monarchy of Spain, recognizing to some degree the people's rights, was overthrown and an *absolute* monarchy under the *same* Prince established in Spain.

The same thing transpired in Italy, where the people had adopted a *limited* monarchy under revolution, and Austrian troops went in and overthrew the *limited* monarchy, leaving the same Prince enthroned as *absolute* monarch with autocratic powers. Then these Divinely appointed representatives of Christ and God arranged to send over their trained troops and hired murderers with their naval forces to the western hemisphere for the purpose of *"reducing"* the revolting colonies of Spain and Portugal back to *absolute* monarchy. That meant the *"reduction"* of *Mexico,* that meant the *reduction* of *Brazil* and of the *Argentine,* and of *Chili* and *Bolivia.* It meant the reduction of all the smaller, weaker republics of the western hemisphere; and that meant that the United States would in turn have been sub-

jected then, a century ago, to these autocratic powers. The United States, at that time, through Thomas Jefferson, and Monroe, and our other leaders had the vision to see the future, and they served notice in the message of Monroe to the world in 1823 that the United States would not stand quietly by and see the autocratic system of government established on the western hemisphere, and we prevented those autocratic powers from capturing the free people of the western hemisphere.

This is *NO NEW* fight; it's the *same old fight* between autocracy and democracy. And when this fight ends, there "won't" be any autocracy!

I want to call your attention to the ideals of William II. William II idealized force, ambition, dominion, William II all his life idealized Alexander the Great, Frederick II and Napoleon I, and his trophies. He finally idealized "William II," and "William II" fulfills all the ideals which will be found in *"Frederick II."*

Let me call your attention to Frederick II, that infernal scoundrel whose statue is at the present still standing down here in front of the War College on a pedestal and from which it ought to be quietly and decently removed and dropped into the Potomac! I do not believe in making any ostentation about it, but I would do it quietly because his image ought not to be permitted to stand there with any degree of dignity or respectability. He had neither one nor the other! He was born a scoundrel, and he lived a scoundrel and he died one! I do not exaggerate it. I am not dealing and could not deal unjustly with the treaty-breaking, murderous, self-serving scoundrel.

Let me call your attention to Frederick II. Frederick II was trained by Frederick William of Brandenburg, who had built up the first important army controlled by the Hohenzollern family. So cruel was his father that he condemned this boy, Frederick II, to death because at the age of eighteen he attempted to escape from his military tyranny and go to France and live the life of a man who might have some liberty. His father captured him and a young Lieutenant Katz who was with him, his friend while escaping, and he had this boy, Frederick II, brought out with his arms held firmly by a military guard, where in the jail court yard the young lieutenant, his boon companion and best loved friend, had his head chopped off with an axe, in order to discipline this young boy. That was the kind of a lovely father, Vice Gerent of Christ, which Frederick II had, and Frederick II proved fully worthy of him in the long run. Frederick II, when he came to the throne, wrote a book called "Anti-Machiavell," in which he ostentatiously opposed the doctrine of Machia-

velli, Machiavelli having taught to princes the foul doctrine that the way to diplomatic and imperial power was to disregard all moral laws, and always do the thing which was expedient and do it craftily, and do it with power and "get off with it." This book, "Anti-Machiavell," was written by Frederick II and all of the good people of Europe lifted up their voices and said, "God be praised! Here at least is a Prince who comes to the throne and recognizes the great moral law which God has writ in the heart of mortal man!" Did he mean it? He did *Not!* It was a piece of camouflage. It was peculiarly and intensely a Machiavellian trick; it was a Holy Alliance trick. He had scarcely more than written the book before he gave a series of balls in Berlin to which all of the diplomats of the various courts of Europe were invited, and they were kept busy dancing and going to these entertainments while Frederick II secretly was organizing a very powerful army of fifty thousand trained men down on the edge of Silesia, owned by Austria under the government of Maria Theresa. He left one of these balls at midnight and threw himself at the head of these troops and grabbed Silesia before Austria had time to object! Anti-Machiavell and Vice Gerent of Christ! But there were three cities in Silesia which were armed and walled cities, and he couldn't take those cities without a long fight and losing many soldiers. Thereupon he made a treaty with France to help him make war on Austria, and then he sent a secret messenger to Vienna, to make overtures to Austria that he would abandon France and join Austria as an ally if Austria would give up these armed cities. Austria agreed to it. He got the walled cities. Austria let it be known that she had made the deal with him. He branded it as a falsehood! Anti-Machiavell! Vice Gerent of Christ! He kept all Europe embroiled all his life long; always trying to grab additional property and to *make war for profit. If there be on the footstool of the Lord a doctrine which is damnable,* it is the *organized murder of men by war for profit!* And that is to-day the doctrine of William II. His House captured unjustly Schleswig Holstein from Denmark for profit in 1862 in a three weeks' campaign. His House captured territory wrongfully from Austria for profit in 1866. He maneuvered—I may say "he" because I speak of the Hohenzollern House—and made war for profit on France in 1870-1871 playing upon the pride of the French Court by a trick engineered by Bismarck, of which afterwards he made light, for which he afterwards took the "teutonic" credit; and made a sudden assault on the French people, *killing them by the thousands,* in order that the Hohenzollern might profit and seize the coal mines and the iron mines of Alsace-Lorraine. And

now after the Reichstag had solemnly passed a resolution that they were against indemnities, and they were against annexations, we see the resolution treated as a "scrap of paper" and Esthonia, Ukraine, Livonia and Poland and other parts of Russia ruthlessly seized by this military force representing the Hohenzollern House. The record to which I have called your attention deals with this present war, but *the doctrine of force is the doctrine behind this war* and from which this war has sprung, the doctrine of Machiavelli that "might makes right."

You will find that Hohenzollern doctrine on the cannon of the northwest corner of the War Department, a cannon cast for one of the Bourbons, "Philip," a cannon—you know the cannons in those good old days were baptized with holy water and given names. This cannon is called Le Mareschal le duc de Humieves. On the mouth of this cannon is the doctrine of force. It is a French phrase *"Le passe partout"*—The cannon mouth is the *"gate-way* through *everything."* On the base of this cannon is the doctrine of force in a Latin phrase—*Nec Pluribus Impar,* "not unequal to many," the cannon is "not unequal to many people, and in the middle of the cannon is the doctrine of force in a Latin phrase—*Uitima Ratio Regum,* "the final argument of kings." The *"mailed fist"* the "cannon's mouth"! Make no mistake about what this fight is. It is "the final argument of kings." *There is a king enthroned in America* that will be, in the future as far as human kind is concerned, the *king of kings.* That is the "sovereign" people. That sovereignty is coming into its own. It is proceeding among the peoples of all the world. Democracy, the seed of democracy is planted now everywhere on earth, and except for the cannon's mouth it would to-day be triumphant from one end of Germany to the other. But those poor German people have been intimidated; those poor German people have been brought to a position where their brains are blighted; where they have been taught to follow their leadership implicitly, and without question they have no longer the moral strength to rise up and demand their own rights; they have not got the physical strength. It's saddest of all to think they haven't the moral strength. It's saddest of all to realize that a great intellectual nation stands so low in morality that it would be willing to follow at any cost this military leadership that urges murder for profit. The German population have fallen to the lowest moral degree of any nation on the face of the footstool!

It's an unfortunate thing now, but I think and firmly believe that there will be gigantic moral reaction in Germany. I think the time has almost come, it will come, when Papa Joffre gets his reserve troops in good action.

In order to teach the American people, as you ladies and gentlemen will do, they must understand the root of this controversy. They must understand where it springs from. They must understand that it is a war to the death between autocracy, armed military power organized for profit, and the peace-loving, liberty-loving, God-loving people of the whole world.

The *Record,* to which I was calling your attention, so abundantly sets forth the data on which we were immediately justified in going into this war that I shall not take your time to go into that at all. You will find it in great detail in the *Record* which I have just given you. You will find it compactly stated, just as compactly stated as you could possibly desire it, and you will find in that all and more than all you need to teach the people of the United States the absolute justification of their entrance into this war.

The American people are awake now. In my own state of Oklahoma, when I went there last December, I found that they had made a house to house canvass, and there was not a house in that state that was not invited to contribute to the Red Cross, or contribute to the Liberty Loan or the War Savings stamps—not a house unless it was overlooked by accident, and I think it is typical of the balance of the United States; and the Hohenzollerns will soon learn that when they showed their cloven hoof, when they showed that their false pretense of being compelled to go into this war as a pretended matter of self-defense, when they showed that in point of fact it was the *old, old game* of the Hohenzollerns, the determined purpose to have dominion over the balance of mankind, as rapidly as they could acquire it by military force—when they did that and made it perfectly clear, and they got the United States to engage in this enterprise with them, they have proved their own undoing. It will be the end of autocracy. It may take another year; it may take two more years, it may take ten years; but when it finishes, there will be no Hohenzollerns left in power. And the world will enter into a thousand years of peace and of brotherhood and of moral and ethical righteousness. This is the battle of Armageddon at last and while it crucifies mankind, mankind will rise from this grave of tragedy to its just position, and demonstrate at last that man is the child of God and the child of righteousness and the child of justice, and will respond to the Divine instinct that God put in the heart of every man.

# FINANCING THE WAR

By James H. Moyle,

*Assistant Secretary of the Treasury*

I was interested in the statement of Mr. Creel that he was glad our country was not, in the outset, prepared for war. It struck a sympathetic chord in my mind, in that it was in harmony with our own claim that we were devoted to peace. There is one element of preparedness to which I will call your attention this afternoon, that looks providential, and that is the estimate now placed on the Federal Reserve Banking System by financiers who opposed its formation, but who now admit that it would have been absolutely impossible to finance this war without it. With it the finances of our country are not disturbed by the figures involved, which almost stagger the intelligent mind when contemplating the money, the wealth, that is going into this war. Germany, it is said, thought that we were nothing but a money-making, pleasure-loving, flabby people; that in any event we would not be able to get into this war in time to be of material service; but it is money, as I understand the history of the world, that has won wars, or at least has been just as essential as the sacrifice of human life.

I trust that the figures to which I will refer will not become dry to you. It is estimated, and I think the real amount will exceed the estimate, that the actual amount that we will have expended, including loans to the Allies, during the fiscal year will be about eleven billions and a half of dollars. Up to to-day we have loaned four billions seven hundred and sixty-five millions, and there is a total authorization of seven billions. The total cost of this war, as it is estimated up to the beginning of the year, is one hundred and twenty-one billions. The Allies, it is said, have contributed about eighty billions of that amount, and the Central Powers forty billions. The total wealth of the United States, as estimated by the Actuary of the Treasury in 1912, was one hundred and eighty-seven billions. I am going to speak in round numbers only. It was estimated last year at two hundred and fifty billions, and I have seen in some newspapers statements that it is now three hundred billions, and the

further statement that this great wealth is more than all the wealth of the British Isles, of France, of Italy, of Portugal and Japan combined, and yet there has already been expended one hundred and twenty-one billions of dollars in this war, and the end is not yet. The gold of the United States amounts to a little over three billions of dollars. I was in the sub-treasury at New York not long since, and there I saw the vaults loaded with gold. One room was filled with English coins melted into bullion. Our nation has become a veritable store-house of the wealth of the world. Our income, public and private—and this is estimated, but I think intelligently, will be for this fiscal year about fifty billions. We are becoming accustomed now to speak of billions! It was unheard of only a few years ago. Government income from internal revenue nine hundred and seventy-three billions—I mean millions! Excess profits tax, $1,226,000,000; incidentals, $666,000,000; miscellaneous, $270,000,000; sales of public lands, $185,000,000; Panama Canal toll, $6,000,000; total, $3,862,000,000.

All of the money expended by the United States from 1791 to 1917, as near as I can ascertain, is about $26,000,000,000, including all its wars and all other expenses paid by this most extravagant of all governments. It is said also from the best authority that I am able to obtain that all the money expended in all the wars of Europe during the same period, about one hundred and twenty-five years, was $25,000,000,000, and yet Great Britain has already expended for in excess of that sum in this war alone. Germany has expended over $31,000,000,000. Our Civil War was one of the most expensive of all wars, but the nations at war are spending to-day in two months more than was expended in the Cival War, and in three weeks more than was expended in the Franco-Prussian war, and in two weeks more than was expended in the Spanish-American war. It is estimated that this war has already cost more than all the wars of all time, and three times the debt of all the nations of the world prior to this war.

I was in Raleigh not long since on the War Savings campaign. One of the speakers related that a very wealthy man who, starting in poverty, had amassed a tremendous fortune, but who had said, "I have only one boy. He is in this war. I will give all I possess and would pledge, for what I might become worth, another hundred thousand dollars and start life anew, if I could but know that that boy would return with honor and his life preserved." I can appreciate that, because I have two boys in the Army, and neither of them with bullet proof commissions, nor would they accept them.

I observed, in one of the magazines, a statement that might interest you, which attempted to estimate what could have been accomplished with the money that has already been expended in this great war, namely:

That it would have doubled the railroad mileage of the United States, and that comes near equaling that of the rest of the world. It would have established steamboat lines in every corner of the world; rebuilt the world's cities on modern sanitary lines, provided schools and teachers for every child, and abundantly endowed science, and yet it is being used to destroy wealth, and more than all, to destroy life and produce misery.

To learn how to economize; how to save and thereby enable the government to meet the obligations thus incurred, is one of the most difficult of all the problems presented to the people of the United States. Unquestionably we are a spend-thrift nation, so recognized. Germany relied on our love of money, luxury, pleasure, unpreparedness and apparent unfitness for war. But in my limited experience in connection with these Liberty Loans and War Savings campaigns, I have found that wherever you go, the moment that the real American has brought home to him the gravity of the situation that confronts the country, he is awakened and alive, ready and willing to do everything within his power to carry on this great task; and to you, my fellow countrymen, is given a wonderful opportunity of bringing home to our people a knowledge of the facts, of the serious danger that menaces the freedom of the liberty-loving nations.

It is said that prior to this war there were but three hundred and fifty thousand bond-holders in the United States. There were four million who subscribed to the first Liberty Loan; there were nine million five hundred thousand who subscribed to the second Liberty Loan; and the Secretary of the Treasury will be greatly disappointed, as will the administration, if there are not from fifteen to twenty millions of people who subscribe to the Third Liberty Loan. We must be transformed from a spend-thrift to a thrift nation. We can not adequately meet this great problem unless we furnish the required money. We can inflate the currency by issuing paper, of course, but that will not pay the debt. Nothing but thrift, nothing but saving, will suffice and it will become more evident from day to day, as this war progresses, that it is absolutely necessary and indispensable that every person, whether rich or poor, shall produce something and save for the purpose of lending money to the government. It will give the best security that exists and a fair rate of interest.

And when bonds are purchased they must be held. The merchant must not take those bonds for merchandise except in

emergencies. They must not be discounted upon the public markets. The government has no desire to interfere with legitimate trade as long as made in good faith, but the man who puts his bonds upon the public market and sells them there depresses that market and destroys the power of the great government to borrow money. It is going to be patriotic to hold these bonds, just as patriotic as it is to buy them, and unpatriotic to sell them, except as it becomes absolutely necessary.

We must all, every one, learn to save in order to buy bonds. A quarter of a dollar per day means a saving of nearly a hundred dollars in a year. Fourteen cents a day means fifty dollars in a year, which in twenty years amounts to one thousand five hundred and forty-eight dollars. It is estimated, I suppose—I have obtained these figures from the gentlemen who provide the information for these bond campaigns—that if we save one-fourth of our incomes, and invest the same at four per cent., we may be able to retire at forty-one years of age at full pay; if we save one-third, we may retire in twenty-four years; if we invest one-fifth of it, then in forty-six years; one-tenth in fifty years. One penny a day for every person in the United States amounts to one million dollars—more than that, because we now estimate our population in continental America at one hundred and five million. It amounts in a year to three hundred and sixty-five million—at one penny a day. Ten pennies per day means nearly four billions of dollars per year.

This has been to me a most interesting statement: A dollar horded is a "slacker"; a dollar wasted is a "traitor," and a dollar saved is a "patriot."

Dollars should be saved for the purpose of loaning them to the government to provide for our boys the best food, the best clothing, the best equipment, and all the protection that is possible; to help them and save them and to enable them to carry on the war successfully. They give their lives; what should we not do for them? They are our boys. It is our war. It is our liberty that is involved and those who come after us. The more we do for any cause the more interested we become in it and the more willing we are to do more. Parents who give their sons are more interested than those who do not. Those who loan their money to help their boys are more interested than those who do not. And as people become interested the more freely will they give and do.

In conclusion, let me say that the expression billions, that is now becoming such a familiar word, is something that was almost new to the financiers of yesterday. I heard Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, President of the National City Bank, say not long

since that when he was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, the government floated a two hundred million dollar bond sale—two hundred millions, one-fifth of a billion—that it was considered something enormous. When we proposed to build the Panama Canal and to expend four hundred million, it was thought almost beyond reason. We know something about the distance to the sun, the moon and the stars, and astronomers attempt to tell us what their weight is. But I venture the assertion that there's no living financier who has an intelligent conception of what these billions mean to which we have been referring; how such obligations are to be met and what effect they are going to have upon the world. One thing we do know is that it represents the debt of the people, that our Army is the Army of the people; that we are fighting a foe whose Army is not the Army of the German people. It is the Kaiser's Army. To him its officers swear allegiance, not to the people—not to the government—but to the Kaiser only. That its officers, however young, in social and official circles, are placed above the sages, philosophers and best minds of that country. Dueling, I know, is tolerated if not encouraged in the highest institutions of learning. It has been instilled into their minds and the very fiber of their being as a means of developing the brutal and hardening processes necessary to make unfeeling soldiers. That they must prepare for war and conquest by war, has been the great aim and object of the character whom they uphold; who places himself upon an equality with God, and in this age of enlightenment arrogates to himself the divine right to rule not only over willing dupes but over unwilling nations.

Some time after the opening of the war I received a letter from an old friend who was in the Consulate at Kiel, Germany. He said that that very day he had met a woman who said that she had given her husband and three sons to her country, and she wished she had more to give! How much more should we be willing to give to the cause of Liberty! War has been their chief aim and purpose, and science and philosophy has been made subservient to it. Its aim has been to build up a power which liberty-loving mankind must destroy. It is the last great and I trust final contest between feudalism and free governments; between Autocracy and Democracy. And we in this country must each do our bit. It should be not only our duty but a glorious privilege to do the part of a freeman in the great fight, the great cause, the ultimate freedom of mankind.

# THE AMERICAN ARMY

By Benedict Crowell,

*Acting Secretary of War*

I am very glad of the opportunity of telling you what I know to-night about the American Army, and I trust you will believe that it would take a great deal to bring me here, unaccustomed as I am to speaking in public. I feel that we are all working together in a great cause; we each have our place. I happen to be here, and to know a few things, which I am anxious that you should know also. I am going to try to tell you about them. I have had very little opportunity to prepare anything, but I have a few notes here, which, with your permission, I will refer to. I want to be sure to tell you the truth, and as the few figures I am going to give you are rather important, I have written them out this afternoon, in order that I may give them to you correctly.

I feel that in this crisis of our nation you are playing a very great part. Your responsibility is as great as the responsibility of us here. You are, I hope, going to interpret in this country the things that we are endeavoring to do here in Washington.

I am especially sorry that Secretary of War Baker is not present to tell you about the American Army in a much better way than I can possibly hope to do. He is, as you know, in France, and is accomplishing a very important piece of work over there. If he were here, I am sure that his personality would immediately reach your hearts. He will soon be back with us, however, and will tell us a great many things that we are so anxious to know about the work of our Army across the sea, and that it will be right and good for us to know about. I want to say that Secretary Baker is a great chief to work under, and his value to the country will better be known as the months and years go by!

The condition of the War Department to-day is, to my mind, somewhat illustrated by the story of the man who was seen running pell-mell for his train. Reaching the station, he ran down the length of the platform, but to his disappointment was unable

to catch the last coach, and missed his train. As he came sorrowfully back, one of the loafers on the station platform said, "Well, you missed your train, didn't you?" The man replied, "Yes, I missed it all right; the trouble was not that I did not run fast enough after I got started, but I didn't start running soon enough!" And that is our difficulty to-day, that we did not start soon enough, although we have done splendidly since we have gotten our start.

I came here somewhat over a year ago, in a rather critical mood, and, observing the condition of things, I was quick to criticize the War Department. "Why weren't they ready for this war?" I asked myself. But a very short study convinced me that the War Department was not to blame. The difficulty was we did not have the money. And then I shifted my censure to the Congress, which hadn't provided us with the money, but a further study soon convinced me that neither was the Congress to blame, because they, the Congress, have done exactly what the American people had wanted them to do. So we are all to blame, you and I and all the others in this country, because we did not want this land to be prepared, and we had indicated that attitude very strongly, at every opportunity. The condition of the country a year ago with reference to its ability to wage war can be told in a few short sentences. We had an army of about one hundred and twenty-five thousand men, well trained for the warfare that had existed up to that time, but not trained for the modern warfare. The area and equipment were noticeable principally because they were lacking. We had a few rifles, we had a little artillery, and we had exactly 1,350 machine guns. Of those about a thousand were of mixed manufacture, and about three hundred were Lewis guns, which we had bought for the Mexican emergency. They shot British ammunition. The General Staff, which is the brain of the Army, at that time was limited to fifty-five men, fifty-five officers, and under the law one-half of those only could be in Washington at one time. We therefore had twenty-seven and one-half officers who were responsible for preparing for war!

The steps that were taken to meet the emergency were of necessity taken very rapidly. War was declared on April 6th. On May 17th the great law of selective service, the draft law, was passed by Congress. This is based on the principle that rights of citizenship in a democracy carry with them the obligation to defend those same rights. The President signed that law the following day, May 18th, and so rapidly was this carried out that on June 5th we registered about ten million of our men. These were handled by the governors of the states

and by the local boards, and from this registration men were drafted. On September 5th the first men were called in. They were called into incomplete camps that had been built during the summer, which were rapidly finished after that date, on which we had spent approximately two hundred million dollars.

The great problem then of the munitioning of the Army had to be met very rapidly. The plans had been worked out during the spring by the General Staff, and the officers who were here in the different bureaus, and it was a problem not of going out and ordering implements, but of creating the facilities to make them. It had been well known that to make rifles, for instance, would take perhaps eighteen months, and artillery the same length of time. We had known this for years, but we were not prepared, and these factories had to be built. The work was started during the early summer, and has been rushed to rapid completion.

I am going to touch upon a few of the points which have been discussed, which I think you ought to know about, points on which I believe you should be informed, and the question of rifles is perhaps one of the first.

We had during the beginning of the war about five hundred thousand of the Springfield rifles. We knew that the making of rifles was one of the most difficult things in the world. Every nation has a different calibered rifle. Ours was different from all others. And although we were making a year ago a large number of rifles for the British, and for the Russians, these rifles were of a different caliber, and would do us no good unless we should adopt their caliber. We had just two plants capable of making our own rifles. They were at government arsenals, one at Rock Island, and one at Springfield. The Springfield Arsenal, by the way, has been making rifles continuously for over one hundred years, always making the government rifle; but when the war started, that manufacture was at such a low ebb that we were making just twelve hundred rifles per month. Our appropriation for rifles and pistols combined during the year 1915-16 was two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. That was enough to make about fifteen thousand rifles, or about, say, twelve hundred per month. And our rifle factory at Rock Island had been shut down completely, almost dismantled; the workmen had drifted away; and we had nobody there who could make a rifle. The work was immediately started, the work of changing over the British Enfield Rifle to our own make. We rechambered that rifle for our cartridges, which were better than the British. They were better because they had no flanges and wouldn't jam, and they were further better because they were

more powerful. It took considerable time to do this, but the manufacture of rifles was started during the summer. In the fall when we first began to need rifles we did not have them, and a great many of our men of the first training were without rifles, which may have been a disadvantage. Some say it was; some say it wasn't. Others were trained with wooden guns. We were very much concerned over this six months ago. Like a great many things, it has been overcome. Our troops have had their rifles; they have had the training as fast as they are ready to go to ship, and we could send them over, they were given rifles, and to-day we are not confronted with lack of rifles; our production is so great that we have practically forgotten the difficulty. We have made about a million rifles since the war started, and I think we will have no difficulty on that score. We think ours is the best rifle there is. Our boys are not going to have any handicap on account of the rifle.

The machine gun was well known, but its tactical use had not been developed until this war. We had in our Army a few hundred machine guns when we went into this war, about thirteen hundred. This war has emphasized the need of machine guns. They use them by the thousands.

The first thing we did was to try to determine the best machine gun, and for that purpose we held a test open to all who wanted to enter it. In May, 1917, about a year ago, we had the good luck to run across a good machine gun. I say "good luck," because it was not known until that test that this particular gun was going to be offered, but the Browning gun, which is the product of John Browning, a man who has had more to do with our automatic firearms than any other man in the country, whose name should be familiar, or much more familiar than it is, came up to scratch and offered two guns at this test, and these guns did so well that before the test was over we were beginning with our plans to manufacture them. Some of the officers at this test took the first train to Washington, and told us that we needn't wait any longer, that we had the guns. So the work was started.

We had, I say, two guns, but we had four guns really. There were two types, the light and the heavy. We had no drawings. The drawings had to be made from these four models; then the jigs and the fixtures and the tools had to be produced, and work which would ordinarily require a year or fifteen months was hammered through, and to-day we have tested these guns out, and are now producing in fair quantity. We produced in the month of March some twelve hundred; in July we will produce ten or fifteen thousand without any doubt.

Our troops in France, by the way, are armed with French guns. We are getting everything we can in Europe. It saves shipping, and there are a great many things which we have not been able to produce in time in this country. Now, the two types of machine gun, the light and the heavy, are quite different in their tactical use. The light gun is really an automatic rifle. The light Browning gun is fired either from the shoulder or from the hip. It weighs sixteen pounds, about the weight of an old-fashioned shot gun. Many of you have probably shot one of these old ten-gauge shot guns. I have often shot them. And the light gun, when you hold it at your shoulder, feels about the same in weight and balance. But it will fire five hundred shots a minute. Of course it won't keep this up. It has to cool. Its purpose is to fire rapidly in succession one hundred shots or two hundred shots. Then you cool it. Then the heavy gun is a gun of position. It weighs about thirty pounds. It is water cooled and is fired from the tripod. It can be trained for instance on a certain point, and a certain part of a trench, and can be fired there any time or any day. It does not vary. The heavy gun, of course, will fire practically continuously, as long as you want to fire it, at that same rate. The cartridges are prepared on the belt, and all that is necessary is to keep changing the belt. We believe these machine guns are the best in the world for their particular uses, and, in saying this, I do not want you to overlook other guns, which have their own particular uses, for which they are just as good. The Lewis gun, for instance, for its use, we believe, is the best in the world. We are using a great many of them—all we can get in our aeroplanes. For the aircraft gun, we believe there is nothing that will equal this Lewis gun.

Artillery is one of our worries to-day. To manufacture artillery takes a long time—big guns, a couple of years, and lighter guns, six to eight months. But we had no plants to make them before this war started, a year ago. There were only two plants in this country that could make artillery, that could make cannon, and in saying that I mean make it completely. We had a few finishing plants, such as the Rock Island Arsenal, the Army plant, or the Navy yard here, and these were only finishing plants. The raw materials, the gun-forgings, which are much more difficult, had to be made in the private plants, and we were wholly dependent as to artillery in this country upon the facilities of the Bethlehem and Midvale Steel Companies. The situation was handled with a good deal of energy, and the condition is much better to-day. Factories were started and have been completed, and we are producing, or beginning—

just about beginning—to produce artillery in quantity to-day. We now have a capacity of about twenty-five thousand cannon a year in this country. We are not making them yet, but the capacity is there and will be brought slowly into operation, and by fall we expect to be producing at about that rate. During this period our troops are being supplied by England and France. Of course, in one way we can't have too many guns, too many cannon, but the length of the line to be held in France limits the number of guns that can be used, and the British and French have a manufacturing capacity that is greater than is necessary to hold that line, and they have asked us to send our men there, and are willing and able to arm them with artillery as fast as they get them; and this we have done. Our men have gone over as rapidly as we can send them, and the minute they land they are armed with guns of the proper calibers; and this will continue until we are able to furnish our own guns.

Aeroplanes constitute perhaps the most interesting and spectacular and most important of our munitions. A year ago we hadn't any to speak of, and we had nobody who knew much about it. When the war started, the first thing we did was to send a great number of our best men over, our engineers, and what few men we had who understood flying, and as they came back, we absorbed as rapidly as we could their ideas. We started early to train our men. We have to-day well over a hundred thousand men in the air service, and in France we have over a thousand qualified flyers. We have been more fortunate with our men than we have with our aeroplanes, as I will explain! You understand in this whole situation—you must understand—it is an entirely new field for our manufacturers—the manufacture of aeroplanes. There was nobody here who knew much about it. We had to be guided by our Allies, for they gave us the best they had, but their methods of manufacture are not American methods. You can perhaps compare it to hand-making of automobiles, compared to our methods. We do not make automobiles by hand. Their methods of making aeroplanes are practically hand-methods. When you know that there were workmen's drawings of aeroplanes nowhere in Europe you will realize at once some of the difficulties we encountered. We had to get the plans and make the drawings, thousands of them, to each plane.

Now, the aeroplane is not as simple as it looks. We have first the plane; then the engine to drive; then it has to be armed with two kinds of machine guns. The first shoots forward, synchronized with the propeller. That is, it has to shoot through

the propeller, and it must shoot at intervals so it does not hit the blade. That is what they call synchronizing it. And the second machine gun must be able to shoot in any direction.

We have, besides, the ratio equipment, the camera, and a great many things that we knew nothing about—aneroids, to get the height. And a complete aeroplane means an assembling of all these things together.

Now, we had three kinds of planes to make. The first, or primary training plane, was a large and slow flying plane, on which we began. Of course, that was the first thing to get, and last fall we were a good deal worried about them because they were not going through on time; but we found that as soon as we began to get going they came pretty fast, and within a very few weeks every camp we had was supplied with planes, and we began storing them, and we have been storing them ever since, waiting until we have use for them.

Our method of manufacture is so different from the European that when we get going we go fast. We got our men pretty well trained, and ready for the secondary planes, that is, the advanced training planes, and the planes weren't there. We could not begin. But we have now got the advanced planes, and indeed just at this minute we are working on the battle planes. Now, the battle planes are, of course, the fighting planes. We think we are just beginning the production in volume of the battle plane. We have produced a few, and we have sent some of them abroad for testing. For two months we have been testing our battle planes, what few we have produced. These, by the way, are equipped with the Liberty Motor, of which you have all heard—probably heard that we have not got any! Yes, we have; we have got a few; we have made several hundred of them, and they are going just as the planes did. We are not hand-making these things, but we are manufacturing them, and they are going very fast, and they are increasing very fast. We had a good many changes. This was a new motor. We had some—I think nine hundred and seventy changes were made during the manufacture. And a good many men have held up their hands in horror that we have allowed all these changes. The fact is, that these changes, most of them, were asked for by the Packard and the Ford Companies, which were making them, in order to facilitate the manufacture; and the other changes were simple things which were necessary. If you build anything, you can't foresee everything at the start. I hope the changes have all been made. The motors and the planes are now, we think, well started. As far as I can find from our advisers, the Liberty Motor is a perfect success to-day. It is the most powerful motor in existence on

aeroplanes. An aeroplane set up, of course, is a pretty delicate thing to ship, and we are a good deal worried about our ability to ship these things to Europe. Shipping is a vital matter with us, so we are preparing to assemble them there. We build the planes; we set them up, and then we take them all apart again and ship them in bundles. We have some fifteen thousand machinists in France and a great many to-day working in aeroplane factories. These men will assemble our planes and set them up as fast as we ship them to Europe. In the meantime, we are depending on French and Italian planes. We have over one thousand over there, not as many as we would like, but we are doing fairly well. Some may tell you that our soldiers are protecting themselves from the German aeroplanes with pistols, but you needn't believe it! We are taking care of ourselves fairly well!

I want to touch for a moment on submarines. The fighting in Europe, the fighting in France, the whole thing depends on our ability to send men over there. If the submarine should prevent it we, of course, couldn't fight. Now, the facts about submarines, I am going to give you very briefly. The sinkings this year have not the curve—we plot all these things in curves, and I am accustomed to speaking in curves; and the curve is not going up. What I mean by that is that the sinkings are not increasing. But on the contrary the line of sinkings is gradually getting a little less, not as much as we would like, but we feel that the thing is somewhat in control.

The other factors of course that are important in submarine matters are the rate of production and the rate at which submarines are being sunk by our Navy, which, by the way, has been doing some wonderful work Without going into a lot of figures, I can say that to us in the Army the situation is not only reassuring but is encouraging.

I have been saving until the last the question of the organization of the Army, which is and must be a rather dull subject, but it is the vital one. Organization is everything. Our program has been rather difficult. It is easy to organize an industry. It is easy enough to extend an industry even hurriedly, but when you have to do them at the same time it is difficult. And that is what we had to do We feel, however, that we are improving a little at a time, and where we made a lot of mistakes, and will make a lot more, they are becoming less important every day, and there is undoubtedly a great deal of progress being made. When it comes to organization, I always think of an old incident that happened years ago. I was in the steel business, and the steel corporation was being formed,

and Andrew Carnegie, who had by far the best steel plant in the country, was putting his plant into the steel corporation; and a friend of his asked:

"Why, are you selling your steel plant, and your blast furnaces, and are you selling even your iron mines, and your raw materials, your coal mines also?"

And Mr. Carnegie replied: "Yes, I am selling them, but if they will leave me my organization, and give me a year, I will beat them yet!"

And what he meant by that was that it is the personnel of the organization that makes all these things. It is not the mines or the steel plants, but it is the matter of organization; and it is that organization that makes our War Department, and we stand or fall as our organization is good or bad. We think it is good!

The General Staff is the most important part of our organization—it is the brains of our Army, and we are now giving special attention to that department of the work. We sent most of our best men to France early in the war, which was natural, of course, and our General Staff, which I think I told you was pretty small, as the war started, dwindled to almost nothing. We are now rapidly building it up, and we believe that the work it is doing is counting.

I am going to say a word now about the different battle fronts. I do not know that I can add anything to what all of you know, but the chief theater of course is the western front. The Germans are making a very powerful attack. This is the strongest offensive, probably, that has ever happened anywhere. They are endeavoring to drive a wedge between the British and the French. They have done pretty well so far. They have gone straight ahead, and only the weather has prevented their doing better. They had a fine rain storm, and they got into trouble; couldn't get their guns up, and that stopped them for quite a while. We think they are beginning now to start off again, and we must be ready for trouble there. There is no doubt about it. The situation will be serious for a long time at this point. If they succeed in getting a wedge between the British and the French we think they will try to drive the British into the sea to the north and capture the channel ports. However, we do not know, and they have been pretty successful in keeping these things to themselves. We have of course tremendous confidence in the troops at the front, and those who have recently come from the front all say that the further you get from the front the less confidence there is, and the nearer you get to it, the more confidence there is of holding the line!

Although our own troops have not yet been in this battle,

there has been some mention in the papers of a few engineer troops which happened to be in the rear of the lines, and near these lines, that is, near this wedge. The indications are, however, that we may hear in the near future of our troops being really in it.

The eastern front is anybody's guess. It is in a chaotic condition. And I must say we know very little about it. The resistance of the Russians has been reduced to almost nothing, and the Germans have been able, and the Austrians also, to bring all their best troops over to the western front. They have left only a few troops that aren't perhaps any good.

In Italy, the Italians have plenty of men, and we think they will give a good account of themselves. They are undoubtedly facing a large offensive in the near future by the Austrians, who are concentrating and preparing to attack them. That reminds me of a rather interesting thing on the western front. The attacking troops are all Prussians. There isn't an Austrian on the western front in this attacking party. In these combatant troops there isn't even a Bavarian, but they are all Prussians. We can draw a good many inferences from that.

Now, on the Macedonian front things are quiet. The situation is still dangerous. The Greek Army, however, is mobilizing rapidly, and in a satisfactory way, and if they are let alone long enough and there is no attack there, why, they will probably do very well.

In Palestine the British have done a wonderful piece of work. Starting with the defense of the canal—the Suez Canal, they have gradually got going, and driven north until to-day they are well north of Jerusalem and Jericho. Their ability to go further, however, depends wholly upon their ability to construct a railroad. It is wholly a question of railroad construction from now on. How much further they go depends on how much faster they can build that railroad. And in Mesopotamia perhaps the same condition exists. They have gone a long way. They have got to keep going ahead; it is up to their troops from now on, and it is rather difficult.

You know, and I know, that the Army can't win this war alone. We need the backing of every American; we need the backing of the whole nation. The people have got to stand back of it, and we are depending on all Americans, and we know that they will stand back of us and help. The American people are going to win this war, not the American Army; or perhaps that isn't quite right, but the people and the Army are the same thing. We are all one. Now, that is the reason that I consider that your work is of such tremendous value, and is just the same as

our work here. We are working down here; I hope you will work, and I know you will never fail in telling the people what we are trying to do.

The men in the uniform are only the few of this great number that must do this job. They can't get very far alone. I hope you will go out and enlist the whole people of this country in this war, and as soon as you do we are going to see the finish of this German militarism that we are fighting, and we will never see the end of it if you fail. We are going to do what we can here in Washington in the Army; we are all inspired by the example of Secretary Baker, and I say again I am very sorry that he is not here to-night. The President of this country, President Wilson, is the Commander in Chief of the Army. We are all, you and I, the soldiers. Now, I know everybody is going to do his duty.

I certainly thank you for listening to me this long, and I wish you all the best of luck in your work.

# III: SOME HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE WAR

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## THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE WAR

By Robert McNutt McElroy,

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It is an axiom among students of history that the causes of great historical processes are never simple; and this present war, the greatest of all wars, is no exception to the rule, having its roots far back in the mazes of racial, dynastic, religious and territorial complications. A simple explanation would be an anachronism. There are the racial antipathies, no less strong because pure races do not exist. There is Russia's age-long ambition for an outlet to the Mediterranean. There is Britain's pride in her Admiralty; France's desire for revenge for the days of 1871. There are the ancient racial complications which have caused men to say of Austria that she is not an empire but a mistake. These and a hundred others must be reckoned with when the day comes for the historian to speak as an historian of the present war. To-day no man who values his reputation as a scientific historian will venture to pronounce an historical judgment upon the more obscure questions of the war. For three things are necessary before a real historical judgment can be pronounced:

We must know, if not all, at least the most essential facts. We must be able to speak impartially and judicially, with a minimum of personal bias. We must be able to see the results, as the tracing of cause and effect is a large part of an historian's task.

All of these elements are necessarily lacking at present. It is true that the world has been flooded with books of many colors, each purporting to contain all the essential documents; but we know that each is a brief for a particular party-in-interest, carefully edited with a view of making a certain definite impression.

Many missing links will appear in each as the years roll by. History will not be ready to pronounce her complete verdict for half a century. We cannot say, for example, whether the battle of the Marne ranks with Marathon, Châlons and Tours, battles which saved civilizations, until we are certain that our civilization has been saved. To-day we do not know enough to speak as the historian of the future will speak, but we know enough to fight as the patriot, the friend of law and humanity, fights. We have not all the facts, but we have enough to be certain that we are fighting for our national existence, for free government, and for the rights of nations. We know enough to justify even the most judicial among us in subscribing to the view expressed by one of the wisest among us, Elihu Root, whose words I wish to read to you:

"The principles of our fathers must go down before this German Moloch, unless the triumphant manhood of our republic gives support. As surely as the sun shall rise to-morrow, if this war ends with triumph of Germany, this country will become a subject nation."

"A subject nation"—this is the opinion of a statesman, calm, clear-eyed and accustomed to weigh his words. With America a "subject nation," what chance would liberty have in any other part of the earth? Representative government could no more exist in a world dominated by Prussia than it was able to survive in a Germany dominated by Prussia.

Fundamentally this is a Prussian war against a Germanic idea; for the idea of representation, the Teutonic idea in government as we used to call it, was born in the forests of Germany, if we may still venture to follow Montesquieu and a long line of political philosophers of many lands who followed him. For a time it seemed to have a chance of developing there into a real system of government; but the demands of an age of war, the need of quick decision and centralized power soon led to the complete triumph of absolutism; and the Teutonic idea ceased to gain ground upon the continent. The spirit of Cæsar again ruled upon the mainland, except in the mountains of Switzerland and in the lowlands of Holland, where the germ of representative government still survived. Germany, the birthplace of free government, had "reverted to type."

But in the meantime, certain Teutonic tribes, as yet untouched by Rome, had migrated to England, taking the idea of representation with them. From the landing of Hengest in 449 A. D. to the arrival of Augustine and his 40 Roman Catholic monks in 597 A. D., the Teutonic idea grew and prospered in England as it had never been allowed to upon the continent. During all

those years "no foreign influence, not German in origin," says Bishop Stubbs, "was admitted at all." The native Britons were almost exterminated and the Saxons became the sole masters of England. Their isolated position protected them and their ideals of government from the pressure which, on the continent, had made it necessary to sacrifice everything to military efficiency. As the years passed, the county meeting came to maturity, a meeting where sat representatives from each township, speaking and voting for their constituents. Thus the Teutonic idea, beaten in its native forests, flourished here in the seclusion of the British Isles. Absolutism strove in vain to gain control. King after king arose, filled with the Roman idea which came with Augustine, and strove to imitate his brother kings across the Channel; but each in turn was beaten. King John dared to aspire to absolute rulership, and was forced to face his infuriated barons at Runnymede. Henry III tried it, and the grim, determined figure of Simon de Montfort scattered his forces at Lewes, and issued the summons which gave nationality to the Teutonic idea in England.

In 1265 the people's representatives, whom Earl Simon had summoned, assembled at Westminster, and the idea of government by a parliament representing all the people of England, nobility, clergy and commonalty alike, took its place in history. Against it the despotic Tudors, the treacherous Stuarts and the dull Hanoverians struggled in vain. Earl Simon's Parliament had given an ideal of government which could not be moved.

In 1760 George the Third came to the throne of England. He had been reared under the ideal of government which by this time dominated his Germanic fatherland. His ambitious mother had dinned into his ears from childhood the words, "Be a King, George," by which she meant an irresponsible, absolute monarch.

But in the path of his ambition stood the Great Prime Minister, William Pitt, the man whose genius had changed the Kingdom of England into the British Empire; the man of whom Frederick the Great declared, "England has been long in travail, but at last she has brought forth a man." With Pitt at the helm of State, no man could hope to be a king in the sense in which George the Third understood the words. The young monarch therefore at once set himself the task of ridding himself of this hero of popular government. He packed the cabinet against the prime minister, and when Pitt demanded the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Spain, in preparation for a war already overdue for the land of England, he was beaten, and at once presented his resignation, in words which show how completely the Teutonic idea of government dominated him: "I consider myself called to the post of Prime Minister by the people of

England, to whom I consider myself responsible. I will not remain responsible for measures I am no longer allowed to guide."

His resignation was accepted with indecent alacrity, and George the Third considered himself in a position to "be a King" in England. It was a perilous moment in the history of free government; but an ally was at hand whose power the ambitious monarch had too lightly considered.

In the early days of the Stuarts' fight against representative government in England, the American colonies had been settled by men who had faced the hardships of a new world in order to preserve the right of self-government, the Teutonic idea, for themselves and for their children. The philosophy of Calvinism had given to these men a touch of fanaticism. They were grim, determined men, easier to respect than to love, but intent upon the one overmastering ambition, "that the government of the people, by the people and for the people should not perish from the earth."

In the American wilderness, during the century and a half since the first immigration, they had developed the idea of representative government as no other people had ever developed it; and the American Revolution was, in its essence, not a local victory, but a victory for the rights of man everywhere. With the surrender at Yorktown, won not by American arms alone, but by the aid of France and the complication of European politics as well, began the period of aggressive conquest for the idea of representative government. The French soldiers, in their intimate contact with the patriot armies of America, imbibed the ideals of self-government; and soon the throne of the Bourbons was rocking under the blows of war "for liberty, equality and fraternity." A few years later Washington received from the Marquis De Lafayette a key to the Bastille labeled "the soil of despotism."

In England the victory of the representative idea was less bloody but more complete. The rise of the younger Pitt, the reform bill of 1832, the rapid development of the power of the Cabinet, and the supremacy of the Commons followed slowly but with the steadiness so characteristic of the British method. To the fathers of the American Revolution, the liberal element in England, America and France, we owe it, that to-day the citizens of the British Empire, the sons of France, and the citizens of the American Republic, together with a myriad of self-government peoples throughout the world, own the same sovereign, the "Sovereign People," and it is a source of pride to Americans, and to Britains alike, that wherever their flags have been unfurled

the love of that Sovereign has been the theme of political teaching. There have been many false steps, many mistakes, and not a few deliberate crimes against the rights of that Sovereign; but in the main it is fair to say of these nations that popular government has followed the flag. Men have criticized the British policy in South Africa, but no one can deny that when the Boers were conquered, Great Britain stepped aside and invited the conquered to govern themselves. The American intervention in Cuba may be criticized; but, after giving Cuba a sanitary code, a sound administration, and a system of public education, we gave back the island to its own people, to rule as they saw fit. Upon this subject one need not argue; one need only state the facts.

But, during all the years included in this survey, the Prussians in Northeastern Europe have never once been seriously touched by the idea of representative government. During her whole history this people, "a mixture of many races, with more Slavonic than Teutonic blood," have cherished absolutist ideals of government. In the history of Prussia we miss the stirring conflicts for the rights of man which lend a charm to Anglo-Saxon history. There are no Runnymede Barons in the history of Prussia; no Simon de Montforts, no Oliver Cromwells, Pitts, Washingtons, Lincolns or Lafayettes; Prussia, throughout her history, as Professor Delbruck tells us, has been a Kreigsstaat. She has been a Volk in Waffen. All of her history is military history. Her worship has been in the sunless aisles of the great cathedral where the black idol, Force, is adored.

And slowly, but with a terrible certainty, she has imposed her will upon Teutonic Germany, until to-day Germany is but an expanded Prussia. "To-day," said the historian, Charles Sarolea, writing before the "war of the world" had begun, "the Germans are governed more completely from Potsdam and Berlin than the French were governed from Paris and Versailles. In reality, Prussia has the ultimate and financial control." And it is to maintain this that the Teutonic Germans are to-day giving their lives.

"As a man thinketh in his heart so is he." And as a nation thinketh in her heart so is that nation. A nation that trains her sons to place their hands upon their swords when differences arise is a military nation. England and America have come to teach their sons to think first of peaceful means; hence the century of peace so lately celebrated between them; hence that glorious line of frontier between the United States and the British possessions in Canada, unmarred by hidden mine or frowning bastion.

The German philosophy, on the other hand, is the philosophy of hate.

"This demand for the peaceful rivalry of States," says Lasson[1] ". . . is either an empty phrase in the mouth of simpletons, or a deliberate and hypocritical lie." "Ye shall love peace as a means to new wars—and the short peace more than the long" —says Nietzsche.[2] And the fine mind of Maximilian Harden[3] phrased it even more grossly, "Let us drop our pitiable efforts to excuse Germany's action. . . . Not against our will were we thrown into this gigantic adventure. We willed it; we were bound to will it. . . . Our force will create a new law in Europe. It is Germany that strikes! When she has conquered new dominions for her genius, then the priesthood of all the gods will praise the God of War."

Tannenberg declares:[4] "Enthusiasm for humanity is idiocy. Charity should begin among one's compatriots. . . . Right and wrong are notions needed in civil life only." "It is foolish," says Karl Peters,[5] "to talk of the rights of others; it is foolish to speak of a justice that should hinder us from doing to others what we do not ourselves wish to suffer from them."

"Any one who cannot bring himself to approve from the bottom of his heart the sinking of the *Lusitania,*" says Pastor D. Baumgarten, " . . . and give himself up to honest joy at this victorious exploit . . . such an one we deem not true German."[6]

"The Teutonic race is called," says Ludwig Woltmann,[7] "to circle the earth with its rule, to exploit the treasures of nature and of human power, and to make the passive races subservient elements in their cultural development."

And what is Kultur? Let a German speak:[8] "Kultur is a spiritual organization of the world, which does not exclude bloody savagery. It raises the demoniac to sublimity. It is above morality, reason and science!"

These are fair examples of the thinking that has at last culminated in the enthronement of Hate. Hear the words of the Poet, Heinrich Vierordt:[9]

[1] "Out of Their Own Mouths." Appleton, 1917, Chapter III.

[2] "Thus Spake Zarathustra," by Friedrich Nietzsche. Translated by Alexander Tille. 1896 edition, p. 60.

[3] Die Zukunft Herausgeben, Maximilian Harden, 89 band, pp. 68-69.

[4] Gross-Deutschland, die Arbeit des 20 Jahrhunderts. Von Otto Richard Tannenberg. 1911 edition, p. 231.

[5] "Out of Their Own Mouths."

[6] Ibid, Chapter II.

[7] Politische Anthropologie. By Ludwig Woltmann. 1903 edition. p. 298.

[8] "Die neue Rundschau." 1914 edition, Vol. 2, Article called "Gedanken im Kriege." By Thomas Mann, pp. 1471-1472.

[9] Text, "Out of Their Own Mouths," Appleton, 1917, which gives also the history of the poem.

O Germany, hate! Salvation will come of thy wrath.
Beat in their skulls with rifle-butts and with axes.
Let your clenched fist enforce the judgment of God.
Afterwards thou wilt stand erect on the ruins of the world,
Healed forever of thine ancient madness. . . .

Or this, from the Hymn to the German sword: [10]

I have slaughtered the old and the sorrowful:
I have struck off the breasts of women;
And I have run through the bodies of children
Who gazed up at me with the eyes of a wounded lion.

These are no parodies. They are real poems of the soul, a soul perverted, and as black as hell itself. They speak not the philosophy of the moment, the product of a state produced by war; but a philosophy which runs through Prussian history from the beginning even to the end, which we hope is well-nigh here.

"The Prussians," said Goethe, "are cruel by nature; civilization will make them ferocious." "Nature," adds Heine, "has made them stupid, science has made them wicked."[11]

Such is our enemy, scorning the ideals which we cherish and vaunting those that we loathe. And yet there are to-day in this land of ours men high in office whose mission it seems to be to induce our government again to enter into treaty engagements with Prussianized Germany, a nation in which the philosophy of hate and the creed of the Hohenzollerns are still in force. We do not need to hark back to the ancient statements. Recent German authorities have restated for us Germany's view of treaties.

"There is," says Lasson, "no legal obligation upon a state to observe treaties; but there is a dictate of far-sighted prudence. A state cannot commit a crime."[12]

"There is," he adds, "but one sort of right—the right of the stronger . . . this right of the stronger may be said to be moral." [13]

"No right," adds Professor Joseph Kohler, "is so inviolable that it must not yield to necessity; and in action dictated by necessity there is no violation of right." [14]

And Bethmann-Hollweg, at the most critical moment in modern history, declared that, "just for a word, neutrality, a word which in war time has so often been disregarded—just for a scrap of paper—Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred

[10] "Out of their Own Mouths," Appleton, 1917, for text and history of the poem.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid., quoted from Lasson's "Das Culturideal un der Kreig," 1868 edition, pp. 15-16.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.

nation."[15] We are liable to the error of thinking of this expression as the fruit of an incautious impulse; but it was not. The Imperial Chancellor, whether consciously or unconsciously, was but repeating the words of an ancestor of his Imperial Master. On April 11, 1847, in a speech from the throne, King Frederic William IV, of Prussia, declared: "All written constitutions are only scraps of paper,"[16] and Karl Schurz and other liberal spirits turned their backs upon their homes and became loyal citizens of America, whose ideals of government Washington has formulated for all time in the words: "Observe good faith and justice towards all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. . . . Give to mankind the . . . example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence."[17]

What hope is there from treaties with a nation which regards them as binding only so long as they are to her advantage? "The state has no superior judge over itself," said von Treitschke, "and it will conclude all its treaties with this tacit reservation."[18]

"The German people," Otto Richard Tannenberg philosophizes, "is always right, because it is the German people, and because it numbers eighty-seven millions."[19] To such an argument only one reply is possible. "We must make you less than eighty-seven millions, and then, by your own logic, you will be wrong." That now is the task before us; and it is one which will demand the power of a united America. Until that task is accomplished, every real American should forget that he is a Republican, Democrat, Prohibitionist, or Suffragist, and remember only that he is an American.

"Only those states," says Frymann,[20] "can assert a right to independence that can secure it, sword in hand." Our mission is to prove this statement wrong also, for we fight, not only to defend our land and her liberties, but to insure "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" to weak nations as well as to strong; to give to weak nations, as our ancestors gave to weak individuals, the majestic protection of a law which operates even in their weakness.

Germany's philosophy, by its very nature, makes Germany a menace to all the nations of the world, and her actions have illustrated the ruthless and lawless character of that menace.

[15] "Goschen to Grey." Collected Diplomatic Documents relating to the outbreak of the war. London, 1915, p. 111.

[16] "Out of their Own Mouths."

[17] Writings of George Washington, Ford Edition, 1892, Vol. 13, p. 311.

[18] Treitschke, "Politik," I, p. 38.

[19] "Gross-Deutschland." By Richard Tannenberg. 1911 edition, p. 231.

[20] "Wenn ich Kaiser war." By Daniel Frymann. 1915 edition, quoted by "Out of Their Own Mouths."

The United States and Great Britain, on the other hand, can never become a menace so long as they train their sons in the philosophy which to-day molds the thought of their citizens, and so long as they continue to follow the path marked out by their recent history. In every step of her expansion, except her treatment of the Indians, an idealism pronounced if not always perfect has been America's guide. In the Mexican war she resisted the temptation to hold all she had won, although both Germany and England expressed a desire that she should do so. What she did hold was sparsely inhabited, or inhabited by Americans; and she paid for it although she might have kept it without payment, not a customary method of international adjustment in the middle of the nineteenth century. And in thinking of this incident it is only fair to judge it as of 1848, not as of 1918.

The colonial history of Great Britain is longer, and her record, therefore, is less clear. Her Empire was founded by force, but, beginning with the Quebec Act, and the lessons learned through the American Revolution, she has delivered self-government wherever she has gone, as rapidly as the peoples within her spheres of influence have been ready for it. Her dominion colonies are as free and as self-governing as the United States herself. India, the Straits Settlements and Egypt, under England, like the Philippines under the United States, are not yet ready for self-government. But when the time comes when they are able to stand alone, unless the new ideal of colonization is betrayed in the house of its friends, they too will be told to govern themselves, with the benediction of their respective Suzerains.

But what of Prussia, and Prussianized Germany? For answer, read the story of Alsace-Lorraine as a Reischland for forty years. Taxation without representation (a vote in the Reichstag is merely a voice in a debating society, for the real power lies in the Bundesrath, where Alsace-Lorraine was not represented), no local self-government, suppression of the right to use the mother tongue; these are grim facts which stare one in the face in the history of the subjugation of a people as able to rule themselves as are any on earth.

A few years ago the German Kaiser threatened the city of Strassburg with annexation to Prussia if certain clamors were not speedily hushed; and the Strassburg Socialist Party replied:

"We salute the Imperial words as the confession . . . that annexation to Prussia is the heaviest punishment that one can threaten to impose upon a people. . . . It is a punishment like hard labor in a penitentiary with loss of civil rights."

With the Prussian Creed of crime daily in force before a horrified world, no argument is needed to prove that Prussian-

ized Germany is a menace. She admits it; she glories in it. "The triumph of the greater Germany which some day must dominate all Europe," said the German Imperial Proclamation of June 1915, "is the single end for which we are fighting."

Why then do we fight? Because we have been attacked? Because our peaceful citizens—men and women—have been deliberately murdered on the high seas, in contemptuous disregard of the rights of man and of the rights of nations? Because we believe that if we do not fight our enemy upon the bloody fields of heroic France, our children will have to fight them on the soil of America? We fight for these reasons, of course. Any great, free, powerful and independent nation must fight under such provocation. But we have other and more compelling reasons, reasons which add the touch of glory to the grim fact of war; reasons which forbid us to sheathe the shining sword until our mission is accomplished, our trust fulfilled. "Those whose lifted eyes have caught the vision of a liberated world have said that of the policy of blood and iron there shall be an end, and that equal justice which is the heart of democracy shall rule in its stead." These are the words of our President, interpreting the heart, not of America alone, but of all peoples who have resolved that the world shall not be Prussianized by force of arms. We fight to insure peace. We bear arms to-day that in future the world may enjoy unarmed those institutions which have made us great and prosperous and happy; and we fight to-day to defend a sacred inheritance which free peoples hold in trust for all humanity. And we must continue to fight until its safety is assured.

The Fathers of the American Revolution, facing a royal despot, declared, in effect, that the territory which had been known as the Thirteen British Colonies in America must be safe for democracy, and they fought until they had made it safe. To-day, in this land, the children of the oppressed of all nations rest happy in that safety, breathing the air of liberty and equality.

In December, 1823, James Monroe, in his famous message to Congress, applied that declaration to a wider sphere, announcing, in effect, that the American continents must be safe for democracy; and America has kept that pledge also.

And now the time has arrived when the welfare of mankind demands the application of this same principle to a still wider area. President Wilson's bold statement, "The world must be made safe for democracy," means that our trust cannot be fulfilled until the idea of government by the people is free to develop in every land, unterrified by the menace of an armed and predatory autocracy.

# THE ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE WAR

By John Bates Clark,

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There is no activity of mankind that is not gravely modified by war. When in primitive times the hand begins to wield a sword instead of holding a plow handle, the man's whole life is transformed, and when modern nations do a similar thing the transformation is still greater. It reverses in detail the operations that we think of as economic. From wealth-creating the nations turn to wealth-destroying and from life-sustaining to killing. Apparently War has living men as its raw material, dead men as its finished product and mutilated ones as its uncompleted product. Destruction of the fine products of the shop and the studio is a lesser by-product, and the tragic fate of women and children the greatest of them. War searches out the best fruits of centuries of development and puts a blight on them. It is much more than cathedrals, libraries and art treasures, that shells and torches mar and obliterate. There is rack and ruin of a kindred sort in human life and the picture of it blazens itself, as it were, on the sky, as an object lesson in the economic interpretation of war. It seems to mark it as simply and literally the hell that General Sherman called it.

There are still more counts in the indictment. Peace accumulates capital. Frugality added to industry makes men look to the future well-being of themselves and their children and provide for it by savings. They deny themselves something now in order that they and their heirs may have more hereafter. This causes the level of human living gradually and surely to rise until the skilled laborers in advanced lands are able to enjoy much which the great lords of a former day lacked. The marvelous mechanism which, when it does its work rightly, turns out means of comfort in profusion, finds its antithesis in diabolically effective guns, shells, poisonous gases, zeppelins and submarines, for doing a devil's work. The *prima facie* case against war is so overwhelming as to make pacifists of those who look only at its savagery.

The picture has another side. In warfare there are assailants

and defenders and their moral positions are strongly contrasted. A basic motive of offensive war is economic. The present war was begun as a quick grasp at a vast source of future riches, the vision of which has dazzled an ambitious people for some decades. The lure of a "place in the sun" has always invited warlike men to invade lands on which that economic sun has shone and try to eject the occupants. If they think of it as Germans do, they probably regard it as turning Canaanites out of a promised land and therefore entirely creditable. This view of the moral quality of war for the sake of gain seems to have been inherited from ancestors of an ancient time and to have expressed an inborn trait. Tacitus tells us that the Germans of his day thought it discreditable to gain by toil what could more quickly and easily be gained by the sword. The paradox of war is not hard to explain. Neither old-time savages nor their modern counterparts spend their own capital, pledge their own incomes and shed their own blood for the sake of bringing on themselves the immediate misery which war chiefly yields. It is enemies' blood that they hope to shed and enemies' welfare that they strive to destroy. If it is done in cold blood and from greed of gain, it may be rational as an economic act—a quest of wealth—but in a moral way the motive sinks it to the lowest level of guilt. There may be something to be said for the cave dweller whose subsistence was so meager that he must kill or drive off a neighbor to save his family from starvation; but what is to be said of a rich modern nation which, from ambition to be richer, brings on a colossal war? If the single murderer whose motive is gain is doubly debased, the nation that acts from this motive is assuredly so. In both cases the utter wickedness of the attack makes the defense a virtue of a high order. A man would be degraded who would not defend himself and his family against a murderous burglar, and so would a nation. War is a dual act and it is impossible to merge attack and defense in one general action and pronounce it right or wrong. The more utterly wrong is the aggressive party the more right and praiseworthy is the defensive one. Very unlike in the present war are the positions of those who assailed Serbia, to clear the way for an oriental empire, and those who resisted the attacks; and between the moral position of the two parties to-day whatever difference there is is caused by the fact that one is violating the sacred rights of the world and the other is pouring out its blood and treasure in vindicating them. The moral gulf is as wide as that between the ethics of paradise and those of the pit.

For our country and its Allies, the war is self-defense, extending itself over many a neutral country and over many generations.

Liberty is at stake and the choice we make is between leaving descendants tributary peoples and leaving them free. Liberty, as a permanent asset, thrusts itself into our economic estimates as a supreme end and teaches us that there are things of such fine value and measureless amount that no material goods we can think of serve as a standard of appraisal for them. Liberty does transcend economic blessings in its scope. It is so great an end in itself that fighting for it ennobles defensive war and glorifies those who stake their lives in it. The attack which put the freedom of many states in jeopardy had the lower type of gain mainly in view—the wresting away of other peoples' "place in the sun." There is wealth for the defenders also at stake, since the war which protects ourselves and our Allies will prevent the impoverishing of us all and will keep open to us the way to future wealth which, before the war, both we and our enemies were following. Serfdom and all approaches to it mean poverty; freedom for a country usually means comparative riches, and the allegorical figure of it should carry a cornucopia. It follows that crippling deadly enemies is, in a secondary way, productive, and the war which puts them out of condition to destroy us is, on economic grounds, rational. This is clearly evident to any one who will read some published German plans for governing conquered territory—plans that involve bleeding it to a degree that would make life in it not worth living.

If we look, not merely at the defendant country, but at the warring world in its entirety, what we see looks in the highest degree irrational—a frenzy of destruction reversing the good effects of the economics of peace. So does a fight between two men; as a means of settling a quarrel it is a wicked absurdity. If we look only at the defensive side—if we know it has been unjustly attacked and is in great danger and ask what alternatives are open to it—we see that it must choose between fighting and submitting to conquerors. Fighting is then coolly rational instead of foolish and nobly heroic instead of diabolical. If successful, it will result in a vast benefit, economic and super-economic. When, as in the present war, we fight for liberty for a large part of the world, we build our lives and our fortunes into a stately edifice, material and immaterial, that will attest through future years, not only the moral nobility of a war for freedom, but even its economic fruitfulness.

Warfare is not inherently as complete a reversal of the wealth creating activities as it appears to be. If we look far enough and deep enough, we shall find in it an inherent function of the organized life of men, and we can trace its working in all the steps of their evolution up to the present point. It is a hasty first

thought that makes war seem anti-economic in its basic purpose. It deals indeed with the higher values that no ordinary currency can measure. We cannot weigh life and liberty in the scales against gold and find how much it is worth while to pay for them. What is plain is that the material things that gold stands for furnish a main object of offensive war and the necessity of guarding them furnishes one prominent object of defensive war. The leading prize of warfare since pre-Adamite days has been gain. The community of nations has always had its bullies and robbers. In the dawn of history individual men lived fraternally within their little embryonic states while the states were anything but fraternal toward each other, and from that time until a very recent one, robbery of state by state has seemed natural and, to a certain type of rulers, even legitimate. It was Frederick the Great who has been quoted as saying, "We take when we can and are never wrong unless we have to give back a part of what we have taken." Within states civilization has done its beneficent work; robbery is infrequent and robbers are not tolerated. Policemen, ludicrously few in proportion to the whole population, now seem to keep the peace, but it is the policemen with a vast potential force behind them—that of the community as a whole. Ever ready are the citizens to reënforce their officers at need. The little active squad of peace preservers, with an unlimited potential army behind them, have reduced to a negligible amount the bullying and robbing of citizens. Very far back must we go—farther than any authentic record can take us—if we wish to find within single states a relation of man to man as abnormal and savage in its practices and as immoral in its standards as frequently is the intercourse of state with state. Wars of direct territorial conquest — massed burglary and resulting murder raised to the Nth power—still occur, and the greatest of them all is now in progress. Yet there is now asserting itself against the attack a world sentiment which is akin to that public sentiment in local communities which keeps the peace within them. Deep in human nature the protest against robbery exists and makes itself audible. In the intercourse of state with state we lack means of enforcing the protest except by war, but such a war by a defensive league does the work that a world police will at some time do and marks the nearest approach which humanity has thus far made to the ultimate civilized state—the federation of the world. For that and for no selfish purpose our own noble army in khaki is fighting.

Without leagues nations, unhappily, have only available a primitive mode of self-protection. They must live among other nations as citizens live in a community where every one is his own

policeman, and must have his weapons always ready. A country that claims to have reached the acme of civilization may collectively play the low bully and act, in the community of states, like a model of savagery. In this situation a vigilance committee of nations is called for, and if the present Entente, including America and all her Allies, will act as such a committee and in that spirit win the war, it will mark the greatest advance in world organization that has yet been attained. It will be a world worth living in, in which there is a commonwealth of free states devoted to peace and strong enough to preserve it. It will not be the federation of the world of which Tennyson sang, but it will be an advance over any form of organization that has thus far existed on this planet.

It would weaken the case for such a league to assume that any argument in favor of it is necessary, but if one should enumerate the benefits that it would confer on the world, it would make an incomparable list, and on the economic side, which we are today considering, its services to mankind would surpass that of any institution for promoting material welfare. Freedom, indeed, individual and national, quite regardless of the wealth a state may enjoy under it, is, as we have seen, a supreme good, and a country might well prefer to live poor and free rather than rich and enslaved. Conquering empires have, in their day, given a kind of peace to the world, but it has been peace with slavery and poverty, and it is a peace plus freedom that means a life worth living. There is a transcendent economic benefit in security for independent nations great and small. Even in the realm in which values of the cruder sort are measured, that for which the Entente is fighting includes the greatest of prizes. There is wealth in store for the world in a measure that will help to offset its appalling sacrifices if it can vindicate its general freedom and still keep the peace. It would be a sad mistake to undervalue either the material costs of this war, on the one hand, or the material gains that will follow a righteous ending of it, on the other. Very, very far reaching in every sphere of human life, lower as well as higher, will be the effect of bringing the conduct of nations toward each other, not under the rules of a distant millennium indeed, but under the simple canons of civilization as they are found in a thousand communities in our country and elsewhere. That will be a renovated world in which states shall treat each other nearly as well as men do in a village of an ordinary sort.

Primitive times have their lessons for us. Let us suppose that there is a community consisting of two prehistoric men living, each with his family, on adjoining land, and that the families are

self-supporting and self-defending, though ineffective in both capacities. They work and hunt, fight off attacks, and then work and hunt again and must always watch for enemies and keep weapons in readiness. They must dig in their fields and drive others away from them alternately, and the tilling and the fighting are equally necessary parts of the wealth-creating process. There is no inducement to raise crops if enemies are at once allowed to take them. Where there is no ownership of anything there is no wealth, and where preserving ownership is difficult and imperfect there is very little. Self-protection is a necessary and wealth-creating operation. From the dawn of civilization to the end of it producing goods and guarding them must go on together.

The assigning of these two functions to separate classes of men is the first and most generic division of labor. Workmen thereafter create wealth in one way and policemen in another, and the constant personal protection of life and property are no longer needed. Something like this will happen as soon as a score of such primitive groups, consisting of a family or two each, unite in a single community. The members of it will quit fighting each other and will keep order within their settlement by some rude policing that will leave most of their time free for other purposes. What one of those other purposes is, however, is much like the personal self-defense that they practiced before. The community still has to defend itself from other communities, and doing so is essential for producing wealth and is, therefore, an economic function. Modern states still have to do this—which means that war is always imminent in the crude condition of the present world community. When the states have world courts and police to enforce their laws they will keep the world order in a civilized way. That they do not have them now proves that, while single states are *internally* civilized, the world community is not so.

Our present task is to trace the economic element in the barbarity of international dealings at their worst, in which they reproduce and magnify a hundred-fold the doings of savage tribes within fighting reach of each other in a primitive wilderness. I have said that, in industrial life, the industrial and protective functions are badly done when they are performed by the same person—that the tiller of the field is badly handicapped when he must forever be on the watch for a lurking enemy, and every now and anon stop to fight him and, on the other hand, his self-protection is inefficient while he is absorbed in his work of tillage. He cultivates little ground, gets small crops and runs grave risk in getting them, and it is, therefore, highly profitable

for two men to specialize, each taking one of the functions and becoming either a cultivator or a fighter. The man who is the better cultivator should raise the crops and the one who is more efficient with spear or cudgel should defend them. Formerly, among American Indians, women were the farmers and men the fighters, and, in spite of the lazy lives of the men, the division of functions was good for all. Whenever this can be done on a world-wide scale—whenever a world police can be created and safely trusted to keep the general peace there will be a corresponding economic gain for the world. That is a future goal, but the present war is a beginning of progress in that direction. This is the true nature of it. Our league—the Greater Entente, as we may call it—is a vast alliance, which, as I have said, acts as a vigilance committee of nations, and, when its work shall have been victoriously done, will, in all probability, continue to function as a preserver of the world peace which it will have won at terrible cost.

It is not as easy for a dozen peace- and justice-loving states to repress one marauding one as it is for a dozen men to repress an individual bully. This, however, is essentially what is now happening, and the present war is an uprising of the orderly part of the world community against international robbery. What is more, the latent possibility of such action as this by a group of states is what has always given importance to that balance of power which formerly kept Europe at peace through fairly long periods. It did not suffice entirely to prevent war and it failed to prevent the present one, but it was a potent influence and, if it had been foreseen how widely Germany's disturbance of the balance would be resented, it would probably have prevented the fatal attack on Serbia. As long as the balance lasted there was always a chance that a quick union might be formed to repress a piratical state. The nation which might have disturbed the balance by grabbing the territories of another was deterred from so doing by the danger that the other powers would resent the action and would not confine themselves, in their resentment, to looking at the aggressor with grave disapproval. There was always the chance that they would pass sentence on him and execute it. Very highly unintelligent is the contempt which one often hears expressed for a balance of power as a peace-preserving influence. It is a principle that necessarily works and must work in determining war and peace. The concert of great powers was an inchoate federation that further evolution might have developed. A certain balance of power will have to be respected in the peace which will be made after the present struggle. It is the fatal shattering of a former equilibrium, which a German

victory would now mean, that steels the world against permitting it. We are all fighting because not one of us would be safe if beaten.

It is evident that though the entire relation of states with each other is still on a low plane, evolution is advancing and, in this larger sphere as in the smaller one, the forces that will ultimately keep the peace are growing. States must guard themselves and must do it in a costly and savage way till federations become secure enough to do it for them. If, however, they must always do this—if the prese effort to preserve freedom shall fail and if the old murderous attacks on freedom continue and are successful, it will be a question whether the human race deserves to survive at all. Under the existing world order war does something that has to be done, given the fact that some states play the part of savages; but if man is not capable of devising a better and surer way to do it, he deserves to lose his claim to rule the earth, and should let some more highly gregarious animal type evolve through countless ages of the future to a position of supremacy.

What man has to do is to strengthen, in the present war, the alliance that is fighting for freedom and may evolve into a permanent world organization that will give the race a right to survive. Our modest and immediate task is to identify the economic costs of the war that may lead to this translation of the plane of world life from a savage level to a civilized one. They are far from consisting merely in the outlays made by the governments. Vastly more than these are the total costs. There are payments which do not go through the accounts of the treasury. There are losses by the people themselves and direct destruction of portions of their property. The ruined villages of France, the crippling of Belgium and the wastes created in Poland and Armenia, are costs of a very high order. On the other hand, not all the special outlays now made by governments in excess of peace outlays are merely costs of war. Some of them bring economic returns. The restoration of ravaged lands and ruined villages is salvage and so are payments to soldiers and pensions for their families. Although these will constitute a vast burden for the governments, they are gains to individuals who receive them and tend to increase rather than diminish the general welfare of the people. Outlays like loans to allies do not figure as costs, if the claims for repayment are honored, and expenditures for ships, docks, manufacturing plants, etc., count only in part, since a value survives in them.

In a sense costs to the government are costs to individuals, since the people of the present furnish the income of the gov-

ernment and the people of the future will have to pay its debts. Moreover, the greatest loss which war entails resolves itself, as in the case of a Crusoe-like man who had to stop working and fight off marauders, into the diminution of output of products of peace, and the destruction wrought by instruments of war. The tools of warfare themselves are in the highest degree perishable, and in this is a large part of the waste which figures so extensively in the inventory of losses. Of the powder that drives the shell or explodes it there is nothing left after a single use and of the shell itself usually nothing. The guns perish more slowly but far more rapidly than do ordinary tools. Aeroplanes are short-lived and ships deteriorate quickly in battle, and rapidly enough at all times. The rails and rolling stock of railways, the road beds and the machinery of munition works are overworked and partly destroyed by the pressure that is put upon them in military uses. These are prominent ways in which inroads are made on wealth. If we make one inventory of national wealth on hand at the outbreak of war and not on hand at its close, a second inventory of the amounts which, within that time, would have been added to the possessions of the peoples if no war had occurred and a third of the expenditures for consumption that the war has prevented, we shall have in the three accounts the entire material costs of a war to the peoples engaged in it.

The three kinds of cost have different effects. The forced economy that war entails must not be merged with other effects if we wish to take account of the result of the war on the later condition of the several countries. The privation which the struggle entails during its progress is a loss indeed, but it only compels us to live less liberally than we have been accustomed to live. To go without luxuries and comforts means to go without a certain amount of wealth which we should otherwise have obtained and used, but insofar as we actually forego these things their absence adds nothing to the permanently impoverishing effect of the war, even though we should cut our luxuries to zero and our comforts to a half of what they were. The transient privation lessens the permanent burden and we shall emerge from the war far better off than we should be if our consumption had remained unchanged. It is an absurd philosophy which advocates or tolerates profuse spending in war time.

There is one major category of costs of war which we have not yet enumerated and that is the non-material kind. We have specified the actual destruction of goods, including the tools of war themselves, and the non-production of wealth that would otherwise have been created. In quantity these categories overlap each other. The mutually exclusive divisions of total costs

of war are those stated in the preceding paragraph. To these must be added the reduction of personal productive power of men themselves. Killing men does not affect the material welfare of survivors as do material losses. It lessens the *need* of consumers' goods as well as the supply of them. Maiming soldiers and enfeebling civilians by privations reduce their producing power without lessening their needs. Indeed a great lessening of the population by wholesale ravaging and starvation would tend, in itself alone considered, to sustain the wage earning power of the surviving workers. The Thirty Years' War is said to have destroyed two-thirds of the population of Germany, but it so ravaged that country and reduced its means of production that one-third of the population was probably able to eke out a more tolerable living than the whole could have done in the desolated land.

It is the *per capita* producing power of the countries of the world in the era following the war that will be of profoundest importance and I must content myself now with saying that insofar as the destruction of life in a barbarous war may destroy the young, the very old and the weak, and allow a larger percentage of the able-bodied to remain, it may add to the *per capita* earnings of survivors, while, if it cuts off chiefly the most capable class of producers, it will lessen average earnings, and that is likely to be its effect in the present war.

There are higher spheres of life into which the ravaging forces may penetrate. They may affect civilization by cutting nerves that are necessary for the higher life of communities. They may disorganize them and, quite apart from the harm that they do to individuals as such, may interfere so seriously with their power to work together as to put an even greater economic blight upon their lives than any other injury is likely to do. Probably Russia is losing more and suffering more from disorganization within the country than it did from the guns of its enemies before it followed the phantom that counterfeited peace and freedom. The world may or may not emerge from this war in a shape that will make it perfectly secure against another, but a victory which will leave a preponderance of power in the hands of a commonwealth of free states will make the world community so much safer than it has been and so much more secure against the anarchy that is costlier than warfare as to atone for the almost inconceivable burden of the present struggle. If, as I have affirmed, the Greater Entente is already such a vast free commonwealth and destined to be the nucleus of one still vaster, there is good hope of realizing the redeeming effect of the war for which our inborn optimism has looked even under the gravest

discouragements. More than once within these years the thought has come to us, "How can one be callous enough to measure gain hereafter against the awful sacrifices of the struggle?" Yet it is freedom for all humanity that is to be won. To-day, as we watch and wait for news, it is the issue of the Armageddon that we chiefly think of. On the one side we see a conquering empire like that of Persians or Macedonians of old and, on the other, a federation strong in force, noble in aim and compelled by its nature to stand against war and for general freedom. Its victory may not at once usher in the longed-for federation of the world but it will unite more of it than any of us ever expected to see in any union. It will prove that we live in God's world, after all, and that the sun of prosperity that a part of the world went to war for may soon shine in peace on the whole of it.

# SOCIAL CHANGES EFFECTED BY THE WAR

By Rev. Father John A. Ryan,
*of the Catholic University*

I do not believe there is very much value in attempting to say what is going to happen after the war as regards social changes. I have been reading so much on this subject that I am utterly bewildered, and have come to the conclusion that I know absolutely nothing about it. And I know that very few of the others whose words I have read know any more than I do.

We are familiar with a great many startling predictions that have been made as to what will occur in a social way when the war is over. Perhaps the most striking of them, because of the sources from which they come, are two that I have read in a couple of sentences, from sources sufficiently conservative and not at all from alarmists. The first is from the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. In a recent address he says:

"It is admitted on all hands that a new order of things, new social conditions, new relations between the different sections in which authority is divided, will arise as a consequence of the destruction of the formerly existing conditions."

And the other authority which I want to quote is one with which you are all familiar, I presume,—Mr. Schwab, President of the Bethlehem Steel Company. He said at a dinner in New York:

"The time is coming when the men of the working classes, the men without property, will control the destinies of this world of ours."

Now I take these two predictions as significant because, as I say, of the conservative sources from which they come. They are significant because they indicate at least how far this general fear of immense changes that none of us like to contemplate has taken hold of the people.

Now, I suppose there will be considerable changes after the

war in social conditions. Will they be as great before the war is over as those which are taking place in Russia through the intervention and ascendency of our friends the Bolsheviki? I hope not. That, I suppose, is the extreme that any of us would think at all possible. Will they go as far as to correspond with the program which has recently been outlined, with which, I suppose, most of you are familiar, by the labor group in Great Britain, a document which was published some three or four weeks ago? That is a pretty radical document. At least some of the general principles stated in it are quite radical. So far as the concrete proposals that are made are concerned, I do not think that at this particular time they would be regarded as extremely radical. But there are some general principles interjected about the increasing degree of taxation of wealth and other principles, like the national ownership of the means of production, which look like socialism. But these are rather general, and perhaps do not mean so much as they appear to mean.

Will the changes in our own country after the war go as far as that? I do not know. Nobody else does.

There are two or three propositions which I suppose we can lay down as less doubtful than many of the others. The first is that probably the government will continue to do a great many things after the war that it has not done before the war. I refer now to the United States. For example, if the government management of railroads is successful, I have no doubt that the railroads will never be returned to private ownership, and personally I hope they will not.

If government management of industry or of public service utilities is successful in that respect as regards the railroads, it is inevitable that it will be extended to other public utilities. That is not socialism; it is not a particularly radical departure from what we have been accustomed to heretofore. That prevails in many countries. In fact, in most countries, government ownership of railroads prevails.

Will the government continue some of these other activities with which we are getting familiar,—the regulation of the kinds of bread that we shall eat, and these other regulations which have been introduced, or will be, for the sake of winning the war? I do not think so unless the need of the nation after the war should be as great as it is during the war. Because this interference with the individual tastes and desires of people, this purely sumptuary regimentation, is so abhorrent to our individual propensities, and especially to the individualism that we are used to in America, that I do not think it can last at all.

Another thing the government is regulating, not exactly by

law, but by suggestion and indirectly, is the places in which men shall work; and it probably will do more. The first instance of it is this device of enrolling all of the machinists of the country with a view to calling them to work in the ship yards. Of course, that isn't being enforced by law, but it may be; they have been doing a lot of that in England—that is, telling men where they shall work. Will that continue after the war? I do not think so, unless the necessities of the people shall be as great after the war as they are during the struggle. That again goes too much against our desires for individual liberty.

The government again is interfering more or less directly with profits of corporations, endeavoring to prevent profiteering by fixing maximum prices in various directions, and with other devices. Will that continue after the war as a means for preventing people from reaping excessive profits? That seems to be one of the two great evils of our industrial system. Not that men get interest on capital or rent from land. I do not think we should have a revolution or great, radical changes if merely we had these to deal with. But one of the great evils is that men get excessive profits, excessive rates of interest. Now, the government is attempting to some extent to prevent this during the war, because it is particularly reprehensible during war. Will it continue to do so after the war? Well, I think it probably will. Whether by the device of fixing maximum prices or in some other way, I do not know. The method of regulating these things by fixing a maximum price is still in quite an experimental state, and we are realizing how very difficult it is; although it has been, I suppose, on the whole, rather successful since the war began. Something of that kind, or some such device, undoubtedly, will have to be continued by the government to prevent excessive profit-making, because I do not think that the ordinary, plain people are going to stand for excessive profit-making after the war as they stood for it before the war. Perhaps one of the methods for preventing that will be for the government to take over a certain amount of these industries, those which more nearly approach the character of monopoly; as, for example, the meat-packing industry, which is not a monopoly; but if competition fails to regulate the price of meat, then I think that it is certain that the government will be called upon either to take over the whole of such a business or to enter into competition with the private concerns in carrying on that business.

Now, these are some of the changes with regard to the management and relation of government to industry that seem to me to be fairly probable.

Now, as regards to labor, the other side of the industrial situation. The labor unions do not seem to be as radical in this country, at least as yet, as they are in England. They certainly have not—the labor unions have not—produced any document to compare with that program of reconstruction which the English unions drew up two weeks ago, to which I referred. How far will the articulate labor elements in this country go in demanding changes and improvements in their condition after the war? I do not know. They probably will insist upon having a greater voice in the management of industry and in the determination of conditions in which they work. A good deal of that demand is already recognized by people outside of the labor world entirely.

For example, the program which was drawn up by the labor policy board a week or two ago, of which Ex-President Taft and Mr. Frank Walsh are members, marks quite a step in that direction. I think that program was agreed to by all of those representing both labor and capital, and then the two persons representing the public, Mr. Taft, the capital, and Mr. Walsh, the labor element, camouflaged the idea that these two men represent the general public! But the beautiful thing about it is they all agreed, and on a policy that is rather liberal, on the recognition, for example, of the closed shop where it now exists; recognition of the right of labor to be dealt with as an organization, and the other recommendations which go a long way towards recognizing the contentions and the philosophy of organized labor; and I think the most remarkable recommendation of all was that contained in the concluding paragraphs of the document, namely, the recognition by both sides that labor had a right to a minimum living wage. So far as I know, that is the first time that phrase has appeared in any important conference of employers and employees as marking something to which labor was entitled; and furthermore they interpreted the phrase, "living wage," by establishing a minimum which should enable a man to support his family and himself in health and reasonable comfort. I think, I say, that is the remarkable thing and most advanced thing that we find in that document.

Now, this is an indication of the changes, perhaps, that will come for the benefit of labor. I hope they will come gradually, step by step. We are all impatient, I suppose, in a time like this, when we are in the midst of revolutionary changes of all sorts, impatient of slow progress; but I think that fairly slow progress is about the only progress that will be permanent.

If you will pardon a personal word, there is an Irish clergyman with whom I have corresponded considerably, who recently

reviewed a book of mine and had the nerve to say that the recommendations for reform that I proposed were rather too conservative, that if written after the war had begun, I might be more radical. He said we need courageous clearness, and the requirement of a conservative and careful and slow progress is out of date. I was very happy when I read that because I used to be accused by some of the brethren of my own religion as not being quite fully orthodox. That statement of that Irish priest is an indication of how far some of us have gone in the direction of expecting radical changes.

I should say in general that after the war labor will insist upon what I may call the philosophy of labor, unionism, being adopted everywhere; that is, the recognition at least of the right of the laborers to deal with the employers through the representatives of their organizations, and through different representatives they have selected; not through representatives, necessarily, who are working in this particular plant, for that is not unionism at all. I think that much is clear, that there will be that much of a gain for labor.

I think, too, that probably labor will have at least the beginnings of a voice in the management; not necessarily that members of the labor unions will sit with the board of directors, though I trust that will come to some extent; but that it will be recognized that they have something to say, not merely about the conditions of labor, but about the organization as a whole.

Then I think that there will be some movement, or an extension of a movement, towards perhaps something like coöperative industry. That of course will have to come very slowly in this country because we have not learned to put aside our individualism and to make the sacrifices of our egoism, if that is necessary to maintain coöperative organizations such as they maintain in the mercantile business in England, and in some other departments of economic activities.

But my one idea in general is, that we shall not get any permanent solution of our industrial problems until the worker is somehow, through some device, or through many devices, brought to such a situation that he realizes that he is interested in the work that is being done, that he is interested in the concern for which he is working, and that it is to his interest to promote greater production.

Professor Clark has indicated to you that one of the great things after the war, because of the great losses during the war, will be greater productivity, greater productive powers, so that after the war, more than ever, we shall want to get rid, if we can, of anything like soldiering or shirking on the part of the

wage earners. Somehow, they will have, I say, to be put in positions where they will see that they are not hirelings, that they are interested in making the product of the industry in which they work as great as possible. Coöperative production would be one method to bring about that result; but coöperative production will have to come very slowly. Profit-sharing, perhaps,—I will take out the "perhaps"—profit-sharing would be another if we had the proper kind of profit-sharing,—if profit-sharing were introduced in a proper spirit, if not introduced as a substitute or as a means of preventing labor organizations. The employers have a lot to learn, it seems to me, as well as the wage earners, in this matter of the things that are necessary to establish satisfactory relations between themselves and labor. They have quite as much to learn as the wage-earner has.

The other day, up in New England, I was sitting in the smoking compartment of the car, and heard two contractors talking about the difficulties they were having with their laborers, and about the wisest thing from their own point of view that either said was that there would be nothing satisfactory again until two men were looking for the same job. We will not get anywhere in this country in the solution of our problems until that kind of employer has been remade.

I think we all can see that the government is going to do more in an industrial way than it has been doing before the war, and that somehow labor is going to get more—have more of a voice in the management of industry, and probably is going to get more out of industry after the war. I thank you.

# THE SOCIALISTS OF EUROPE IN THE WAR

By William English Walling,

*Economist and Publicist*

No newspaper reader—I might say no intelligent reader, but that is not necessary—no newspaper reader can have failed to note the extremely important rôle played by the socialists in the war in every country of Europe. In fact this subject is of such vast proportions and has so many ramifications that it is entirely impossible to go into it historically in a lecture. But probably you would prefer that I should take the other method anyway. I will give you a cross-section of the influence of the international socialist movement on the war at the present moment, and I will not go back any later than February, and I will try not to go too far forward either. February of this year is the date when the socialists of the Entente countries finally decided upon a detailed program and course of action.

We do not expect Germany to win this war, but can we doubt that such is the confident expectation of the Germans? And how do they expect to win? Possibly by crushing military victories within the next month or two, but it is extremely unlikely that this is their chief reliance. Their leading military men and statesmen have repeatedly expressed the hope that they would cause such loss and suffering in the Entente nations as to weaken the morale of the civilian population to the breaking point. That is the expectation of the German General Staff, the organization of the German Government, that and nothing else. There is no doubt about it. In fact all the greatest war authorities on both sides say that there is little, if any, question that the war will be settled in this way.

There can be no question that during all these many years of preparedness Germany has been aiming quite as much to strike at the morale of the civilian population of the enemy countries as at their armies. As Ambassador Morgenthau says: "Germany has not only organized herself, but she has taken equal pains in disorganizing other nations." She has been as efficient in one direction as in the other. Has any nation been more completely demoralized than Russia has been through the combined

efforts of the German armies and the German propaganda? I do not believe that there is a parallel in history.

There is no doubt whatever then of the main plan and hope of the German General Staff in the Entente countries. It counts confidently upon a revolutionary uprising of the anarchists and socialists of Italy after a prolonged and terrible struggle between the Italian and Austrian armies. I believe this uprising is confidently reckoned upon for this spring or early summer.

This is only the first part of the obvious calculations of the General Staff. The prospect of completely conquering the British, French and Italian armies are almost equal to zero. The prospects of so weakening and terrorizing the civilian population of these countries as to cause a revolutionary pacifist uprising in the shape of anti-war strikes are infinitely better.

This is what the Germans mean by their diplomatic offensive. Let us not misunderstand it. They do not aim any longer at a peace by compromise—in which Germany would keep part of her territorial gains and her enemies would be compensated for none of their losses due to German robbery and destruction. They are not content to aim at a peace by negotiation, in which the war-map would cut a large figure. They aim by peace talk and anarchistic propaganda to stir up revolutions in the Entente countries. That would spell a victory such as German arms alone could never dream of.

There would be no need of peace negotiations. The Kaiser would write down the future order of the world and the other nations would give their consent in advance as the Bolsheviki did at Brest-Litovsk. Moreover, no autocrat can be bound by any power—not even its own word. This is the autocratic doctrine. It is being applied just as the Kaiser is interpreting his own peace treaty to suit himself in Russia to-day, so he would do in any neighboring country that revolution and anarchy put into his power. Is there any doubt whatever about this?

This is new wine that has gone to the head of the German militarists. They were far better able to stand the old wine of military success. One year of intensified propaganda at the cost of a few hundred millions gave them an empire beyond their wildest and bloodiest dreams. The cost—a few hundred millions—was less than the cost of a single month of the great war.

Can we be surprised then that the greatest hope, the effort on which the Junkers are willing to spend the most in blood and money, is to Bolshevize other countries? This hope of the Kaiserites is shared by 90 per cent. of the German people. That is not a mere phrase. That is a calculation as closely as I can give it, the hope of approximately 90 per cent of the German

people to be able to Bolshevize Italy, then France and England, then possibly America. Witness the editorials of the Majority Socialist *Feldpost,* circulated in the trenches with government consent. Here is how the *Feldpost* describes the aim of the "peace offensive":

"We Germans desire nothing more than we desire an early peace, but we decidedly refuse to submit to Wilson. . . .

"If we were in the first year of war it might perhaps be said that Germany ought to set a good example, and that the others would follow. But who can still seriously believe that Wilson, Lloyd George, and Clemenceau would follow. Of course, if it must be, we shall negotiate even with these 'statesmen.' But let there be no deception about the fact that, as long as these politicians with their smashing schemes of conquest,"—Mr. Wilson's smashing scheme of conquest—"remain in power it will hardly be possible to reach an agreement.

"Unless the Entente peoples make an end of their present governments, they will hardly get peace."

This is how two-thirds of the German Socialists react to the teachings of the General Staff—or, shall we call these teachings the political orders of the General Staff? The General Staff issues its military orders and it issues its political orders, military orders and political doctrines, and the Socialists take them up. These Socialists demand, in *Vorwærts,* "the complete defeat" of our armies. But they do not mean "complete" defeat. What they mean is defeat prolonged until the demoralization of the civilian population, which the *Feldpost* and all the other pro-war organs claim is already proceeding merrily and satisfactorily. What they mean, as the passages just quoted prove, is defeat until pacifist revolutions have overthrown our governments. But why give the interpretation of the political orders of the General Staff, as given by Socialist editors, when the French Government has now put us into possession of those orders themselves?

Now here follows I believe by far the most valuable document discovered and published since the war, by far the most valuable German document yet brought to light, I mean secret document, more important, it seems to me, a hundred times more important than the Zimmermann disclosures, because it includes all of its Mexican-Japanese intrigue and propaganda.

"A circular issued by the press director of the German foreign office on February 23, 1915, and which was sent to all the German Ambassadors, Ministers and Consuls, reads:

"'There have been established within the territory of the country where you are special bureaus for the organization of propaganda in the countries that are in the war condition against Germany. The propaganda will have for its object to propagate social upheavals, accompanied by strikes, revolutionary explosions, separation movements and civil war as well as an agitation in favor of disarmament and the cessation of the present bloody war.'"

Let me call your attention in particular to this juxtaposition —"social upheavals, accompanied by strikes, revolutionary explosions, separation movements and civil war as well as an agitation in favor of disarmament and the cessation of the present bloody war."

That is revolutionary pacifism: Civil war between democrats instead of the union of all democrats and democracies in war against autocracy! In one word, Bolshevism—and two years before the General Staff turned Russia over to the Russian Bolsheviki—two years, the identical doctrine here word for word, to be spread all over the world, internationally. That is the essence of Bolshevism. They are willing to spread it all over the world, and they are willing to make any sacrifice in the hope of spreading it all over the world. That is the position of the German General Staff, just as the Bolsheviki and the General Staff agreed perfectly about disintegrating the Russian army. That was the exact purpose of the General Staff and that was the prime purpose of the Bolsheviki. I will describe their motives a little bit later. I am not accusing them of dishonesty personally, or saying that they were mere creatures of the General Staff, but I am saying how they have worked together, and how they are perfect allies at the present time and will be for some time to come, not because they agree fundamentally, but because they agree upon practically every problem of importance to the human race that has come up up to the present time.

Did the General Staff, then, create the Bolshevik movement? It certainly did not. The General Staff never puts itself to unnecessary trouble. It creates nothing it finds ready at hand. Moreover, it knows that social movements that are not artificially created are infinitely the more useful. I can personally testify that the Bolshevik movement has lain ready for German use these last fifteen years. And can any intelligent being doubt that the General Staff has known it?

Proceeding wisely and scientifically, the Germans have not undertaken to invent any new movement whatever. They have undertaken to utilize each and every movement which can be

used for their purpose and to prevent other movements which can be turned to such use. The Germans did not invent the Bolsheviki, but they found in this relatively weak and obscure movement the tool perfectly adapted to their purpose. They then did everything in their power to aid and promote it and they were able to help it in a thousand different ways. When the Bolsheviki came into power in Russia, they did everything the General Staff had calculated they would do.

But now to return to the immediate situation. Not only in France and England but in America we are hearing ugly threats of a new war against our government from the rear. The Germans did not create this movement but they have adopted it. This war from the rear has been initiated in large measure by perfectly sincere persons without German connections. But all Germans and pro-Germans—and their name is legion—are now concentrating their entire attention on promoting this war. What would otherwise be an insignificant spark they are fanning into a dangerous fire.

Like all movements promoted by German intrigue and propaganda, this new movement has been given a beautiful name. It is called Pacifism or Internationalism, the Germans thinking that they can operate far more successfully under a name which gives them precisely the opposite of their real characteristics. This new revolutionary pacifist movement aims to force all the Entente governments to an immediate peace. It, therefore, can have one effect and one effect only, to aid the most dangerous militarism the world has ever known, to intensify and prolong nationalist hostilities and to make warfare permanent. To operate successfully, how could such a movement have a better name than International Pacifism, unless perhaps its alternative name, International Socialism, may be preferred as suggesting that it is a people's movement?

Now since the 22nd of February the danger has ceased to be general and has become definite and concrete. These pacifist revolutionists are becoming more and more aggressive and truculent and the German intrigue which supports them is many times more intensive and many-sided than any German intrigue of the past. Some fifteen months ago the country was deeply stirred by the exposure of the intrigue of the German Foreign Office under Zimmermann in Mexico. The intrigue we are facing to-day extends to all the Entente countries and is one hundred times more dangerous. In fact, this new intrigue is on a far more grandiose scale than even the demoralization of Russia through the Bolsheviki, the Ukrainians and the Finnish White and Red Guards. That agitation was confined to Eastern Europe. The agitation

we are now confronting spreads throughout Western and Southern Europe to America.

Just remember, when a discussion arises between neighbors as to which side Germany is on in a particular plot, generally speaking she is on both sides. For example, we know the agitation that was being conducted in Mexico by Germany against the United States. Do you doubt that Germany was supporting an agitation in the United States against Mexico? How are you going to have a war unless you inflame both sides, one against the other? Which side was Germany on? She was on both sides. "We must create separation movements and civil wars." You can't create civil wars by favoring one side. You must favor both sides.

Here is world-wide conspiracy to take the world war out of the hands of the Entente peoples and the governments they have selected to represent them, and to place it in the hands of socialistic minorities.

The question is asked, How can minorities hope to stop the war? The answer is that these minorities have a powerful strategic position in war industries and in transportation by land and sea. While millions of able-bodied fighting men are at the front, millions of war workers at the rear hold the fate of their home governments entirely in their hands.

I do not mean to reflect in the slightest degree on the loyalty of the war workers. On the contrary, I know that they are loyal in America, very largely loyal in England and in France. But this is the hope of the German General Staff, and this is the plan of a very large part of the Socialists in all countries. I could produce for you the various quotations from speeches, resolutions, etc., if I spoke ten hours instead of one. But this is not the United States Senate, and I suppose I will have to confine myself strictly within my hour.

In order to create an anti-war strike movement that would paralyze the government it is not necessary to secure a majority of the people, but only a majority of the war workers. German hopes and the German propaganda are, therefore, exclusively centered in this direction, and the Socialist parties of Italy, France, England and America have taken a position which (whatever its motive) is entirely in line with the German plans.

I speak of the position of the Socialist organizations, but in America at least this organization can no longer be called Socialist in any sense of the word. While numerous native American Socialists have left the movement, the doors have been thrown wide open to the Germans and pro-German foreigners who have joined the party in large numbers.

The situation in France and England is somewhat different, although in both these countries non-Socialist pacifists and anarchists have joined the movement in large numbers. I read a report a few days ago in a German Socialist paper which stated that there were five new German locals formed in one day. It is only necessary to refer to the case of Wisconsin, where Victor Berger secured about 50,000 Socialist votes (mostly Germans) and 50,000 votes of German non-Socialists, men who have never made and probably will never make again the slightest pretense of being Socialists.

I have not time to go far into the Russian situation. Surely the bottom of misery, ignorance and degradation has been struck in that country, and there will soon be a turn for the better. But even the temporary success of the Bolsheviki, which cannot be denied, is invaluable for the purpose of the German propaganda. As long as the Bolshevik success continues there will be powerful elements among the workingmen of Italy, France and England clamoring for a Bolshevik revolution and a Bolshevik termination of the war in those countries. If the Germans can retain the Bolsheviki in power for a few months longer, they may serve the most important purpose of all. That is, they may succeed in spreading their anarchist propaganda to Italy and France. At least this is the well-founded German hope.

Let us turn next to the country where the Germans have already succeeded in spreading Bolsheviki, namely, Italy. As late as the 5th of February the executives of the Socialist party and the labor unions met and adopted the following resolution:

"The proletariat has no interest in formulating the concrete aims of the war, because to do this would be to confuse the principles by which the future international relations of peoples will be organized with the unrealizable pretense that these aims can be obtained as the immediate result of the war." In other words, the Italian proletariat places its entire reliance upon a revolution and pretends that nothing whatever can come from an Entente victory. This resolution is to be read in the light of the recent conviction of Lazzari, the Secretary of the Italian party, for treason, and the fact that his position was endorsed by the Socialists after his conviction. He admitted attempting to use the entire machinery of the party to overthrow the government by violence and make peace at any price. Pure Bolshevism! Indeed the Italian party is a member of the Zimmerwald or Bolshevik International which pledged itself last September to an international general strike to bring an immediate end to the war.

The Socialists of France and the Laborites of England are

as yet not quite so revolutionary as those of Italy. At the inter-allied Socialist and labor conference at London on February 22nd they refused to take the view of the Italian Socialists, that a program of peace terms was valueless or that the war could do nothing for permanent peace. The program actually adopted was highly satisfactory to the Entente governments and peoples, but that program was of such secondary importance that it might almost be called camouflage. The chief purpose of the conference and the sole object of a very large part of the delegates was the endorsement of the plan for an international socialist and labor conference to which the German Socialists are to be invited. The peace terms' program adopted was solely for the purpose of negotiations at this conference. The Germans would come with their program, which is of a diametrically opposite character, and is based not on the right of peoples to self government, but on the restoration of the territorial status quo ante. Compromise terms would then be reached, the various Socialists would return to their home countries and threaten their governments with an international general strike unless there was an immediate peace on this basis. The utility of this program was thoroughly recognized by the German, Austro-Hungarian, Turkish and Bulgarian governments when each and all of them favored an international Socialist conference at Stockholm last summer. For the same reasons the American, French and British governments refused to allow any of their citizens to attend.

This effort to revive the Stockholm conference is thoroughly typical of the whole international Socialist movement as it stands to-day. In varying degrees all the Socialist parties of the world are prejudiced in favor of Germany. Very few of them are pro-Kaiser or pro-German government, but all are pro-German-Socialist. Not only were most of the parties organized by Germans, but the whole literature of the movement is overwhelmingly German. It is this fact and not any love of Kaiserism or willingness to yield to it that accounts for the pro-German stand of these parties, and has given Germany her opportunity to make use of them.

In no country of the world was there up to the war any tendency for the Socialists to deny the Germans their position of leadership in the Socialist International. No Socialist or student of Socialism can deny that both the good and the bad of the movement come from Germany. Some of these Socialist ideas are purely militaristic. For example, the principle of iron discipline by which all minorities in the organization are repressed. It was this principle that led the German Socialists at the beginning of the war to give unanimous support to the govern-

ment in the Reichstag, although 15 to 20 out of the 110 were entirely opposed to the government and the war in the caucus. This principle of discipline also enabled the Italian Socialists to throw all the pro-war elements out of the party no matter how numerous they have been.

Some of the principles of German Socialism may be defended in Germany, while working nothing but evil when applied outside of that country. Others of these principles while defensible in time of peace are utterly indefensible in times of war. In both cases this pseudo Socialism works for the benefit of German militarism.

For example, the German Socialists of all factions preach a very militant form of democracy, including uncompromising political opposition to all but the most radical governments. Radical democrats must sympathize with this principle in times of peace. They can agree that even in war time it is the duty of every democratic party to oppose an autocratic government with all the means in its power, but to apply this principle in war times to countries like France, England and America, where the democratic governments are engaged in a life and death struggle with autocracy, is to reduce it to an absurdity. Yet the dogmatic thinking the German Socialists have been able to spread among the Socialists of other countries, has led them logically and naturally to this conclusion. Witness the recent decision of the French Socialists to withdraw all their representatives from the war minority.

Again the Socialist principle of political warfare against capitalism has the support of radical democrats everywhere, but to make this war against capitalism the main issue at a time when the world is struggling to get rid of a feudal militarism that comes straight down from the Middle Ages, is to serve the cause not of progress but of reaction.

This strange perversion of the human mind effected by German Socialist propaganda has been very clearly and strongly expressed by Herman Fernau, the German author of the famous book, "Because I Am a German." As Fernau says:

"German Socialists and Russian followers of Lenine maintain that the war is an outcome of the capitalist system. According to their views, all the governments were nothing but the servants of this wicked system; therefore they are all equally responsible for the war. Consequently the Socialists summon the workers of all lands to rise in a revolution. This seems to them to avoid the recurrence of such a catastrophe.

"The spread of this theory is very agreeable to the German

Government. If all governments are equally responsible, then the destruction of Prussian militarism is not the necessary objective of the war, and we may as well conclude any sort of peace at any time. The hopes of the civilized world can, according to this view, be left to some vague future revolution.

"It is easy to understand why the German Government is willing to give passports to such international conferences as are held at Stockholm; the adoption of some such theory as is advocated there is the only possible means of hushing up the inquiry into the responsibility for the war, and so securing a compromise which will leave Wilhelm II in power."

Again we may understand why the German Socialists, living in an autocracy like Kaiserland, have been revolutionary in words and entirely loyal and conservative in deeds. But again also this characteristic when spread by German Socialist propaganda into other countries works exclusively for the benefit of Kaiserism. Ultra revolutionary talk leads to nothing in Germany, but the same talk exported into Russia, Italy, France and other countries may lead to deeds—and deeds of a suicidal character. The recent experiences of Russia and Italy have shown what can happen in those countries. In any democratic nation where revolutionary principles become widely accepted revolutionary actions may result.

The Kaiser has little to fear from such revolutionary talk. The anti-war Socialists have only 20 out of 400 members in the Reichstag. Recent elections have shown that they represent scarcely one-tenth of the German people. Moreover, this is undoubtedly the weakest tenth. In all the strategic industries like railways, coal mines, and steel mills the whole labor movement is exceedingly weak, if tolerated at all. As the Vienna Socialist organ says:

"At the eleventh hour the German laborers again tried to turn fate by the general strike of January. But it was just this strike that betrayed the weakness and discord of the German working classes. Only a small part of the workmen took part in the struggle; the majority went on quietly working; so the strikers had to return to their work without results. Not even the brutal methods of the Prussian officials, not even the unexampled severe sentences of the court martial, caused any visible excitement among the workmen. It became clear that the German proletariat was unable or unwilling to influence the war policies of the rulers."

The overwhelming majority of the skilled laborers in all industries are pro-war Socialists. To characterize the pro-war Socialists it is necessary only to recall that the pro-war Socialists of the Reichstag the other day refused to vote against the infamous Russian treaties forced by Germany upon the miserable people of that country. Ebert, their spokesman, had the impudence to contend in the Reichstag in February that the Germans are still fighting a war of defense. The position of Legien, Hue and other conservative Socialist labor union leaders is that German industry, the German working people and the labor unions will advance their fortunes through German success in the war.

The success of Germany in Russia—with the aid of the Bolsheviki—has immensely strengthened this faction, recent elections showing it more than twice as strong as the minority. In fact the German people are so intoxicated over the Russian victory that they now hope by complete victory to Bolshevize Western Europe and America. (After the President's last speech, *Vorwærts* said, "Now we must win a complete victory on the west front also," that is, we are to be Bolshevized.) The *Vienna Arbeiter Zeitung,* official organ of the Austrian Socialists, well characterizes the German situation:

"But since the summer of 1917 democracy was gradually driven to the defensive and imperialism commenced to gain strength. The developments of the Russian revolution shattered the Russian army and destroyed its fighting power. While the English revolution of the seventeenth century created Oliver Cromwell's incomparable revolutionary army, which raised England from a vassal of France to the most powerful nation of Europe, and while the French revolution of the eighteenth century created the wonderful armies which defeated all the princes of Europe and unfurled its victorious eagles from the Pyramids to Moscow, the Russian revolution destroyed Russia's army and laid the great empire open to helpless plunder. The ignorant Russian peasant, devoid of patriotic feeling and political ideals, was incapable of defending his revolution and his Fatherland against the foreign enemy when the restraint of hard discipline was removed. Germany suddenly saw its most feared neighbor defenseless. The temptation to take advantage of its neighbor's weakness was great. This temptation drove large masses of the German people to imperialism."

But the German minority and anti-war Socialists are more serviceable to the German Government, for they are the unchal-

lenged and accepted leaders of the international Socialist movement. One of the leaders of the pro-war faction, Eduard David, thus outlined the German governmental policy in the Reichstag:

"Germany must squeeze her enemies with a pair of pincers, namely, the military pincer and the pacifist pincer. The German armies must continue to fight vigorously while the German Socialists encourage and stimulate pacifism among Germany's enemies."

It is the anti-war Socialists who are most useful in carrying out this policy. It is they who are the chief advocates of an Internationalist Peace Conference to bring an immediate end to the war.

The minority party at the same time puts off the coming revolution to the Greek Kalends, that is, after the war. It is they with their Socialist followers in all countries who are given to revolutionary words without revolutionary deeds—except where such followers happen to be Latins and Slavs.

Besides the anti-war faction just mentioned, the so-called minority or independent Socialist party with its 20 representatives in the Reichstag, there is a third or extremist group represented by Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and other imprisoned leaders. These are the German Bolsheviki. They differ from the German minority in that they take their revolutionism seriously.

The German Bolsheviki would match words with deeds. They would undoubtedly initiate an immediate revolution, but they are restrained by two closely connected facts. In the first place, the German Government uses to the full its vast and efficient system of repression against them, so that their revolutionary fervor counts for nothing. In the second place, they are the least numerous of the three German Socialist factions—doubtless chiefly because of this repression. It may be doubted if they represent more than two or three per cent. of the German people—and this two or three per cent. is made up largely of the least skilled and most ignorant. This faction is strong neither in the labor unions nor among the educated proletariat. Finally, the German Bolsheviki, like all other Bolsheviki, are agitating for an international revolution to be directed against the Kaiser only on the condition that it is simultaneously against Woodrow Wilson and Lloyd George! If by any remote chance these Bolsheviki ever get into power they would probably have the same frightful effect upon the democratic cause as was seen when the Russian Bolsheviki came into control in Petrograd.

Their weird doctrine can only be understood in view of its weird double parentage. Its connection with Socialism is secondary; it is fifty per cent. Teutonism and fifty per cent. anarchism. Here are two doctrines which, however complex, are familiar. Add them together and we have completely explained the mysteries of Bolshevism.

Having described briefly the three forms of German Socialism, we have sufficiently described the varieties of Socialism to be found everywhere, except that the numerical proportions are different in other countries. That body of Socialists which supports the government right or wrong, the nationalist Socialist, is numerically the least important of all three factions in every country except Germany. That is, where the government is least worthy of democratic and Socialist support, there the greatest support is given. On the contrary, in countries where the governments are most deserving of democratic and Socialist support, the pro-government factions are smallest.

But we need not proceed further with these distinctions. There are certain propositions held in common by all Socialist parties in all countries. All agree in the claim that the Socialists, and the Socialists alone, represent the people, the governments, therefore, having no legitimate authority whatever. All agree, further, that the Socialist movement is the only international movement. Both of these propositions are radically false, not only for the movement as a whole, but for each and every country.

There is not a single country in the world where the Socialists can claim to represent the majority of the people, not even Russia. In a loose sense of the word the Russian peasants are Socialists, but they are not organized and do not therefore form a real or effective part of the international movement—certainly not in accordance with their numerical strength. The Bolsheviki, having the overwhelming majority of the peasants against them, cannot and do not claim to represent more than a fraction of the nation and they use violent means precisely because they recognize themselves as being in the minority. The Bolsheviki are approximately 50 per cent. of the urban population, and the urban population is less than 15 per cent. of Russia.

When we turn to other countries, the numerical importance of the Socialists grows less and less. In Germany, even including that strange variety of Socialist which avowedly supports the Kaiser, they number only a third of the nation, in Italy a fourth and in France a sixth; while in America they are less than three and one-half per cent.

But they have never failed, especially since the war, to claim

that they and they alone represent the people. It is this preposterous claim that gives a fictitious importance to the Stockholm conference—a fact that is fully recognized by the German and Austrian governments. Already these governments have had immense success with their propaganda in the Entente countries. If in their efforts to secure a German peace they can claim the support of a conference of the "peoples" of all nations their work of disruption will be enormously facilitated.

The other claim that the Socialists are thorough internationalists and the only internationalists is equally impudent and preposterous. Led as they are and always have been by the German Socialists, who in turn are soaked through and through with German ideas and ideas adapted solely to German conditions, they are in reality the servants of the most aggressive and dangerous form of nationalism that has ever been known. No more effective means could possibly be devised of fighting internationalism at the present moment than indirectly aiding the German Socialist through participation in the pseudointernationalist Socialist movement.

Only last summer the French Socialists adopted by an overwhelming majority a program which contains a full appreciation of the most important internationalism of our age, namely, that formulated by Woodrow Wilson. The Allied Socialist Conference at London on February 22nd also voted a full appreciation of Mr. Wilson's principles. Such service to the cause of internationalism as may have been rendered by some of the Socialists is completely and totally eclipsed by the internationalism of Woodrow Wilson and Lloyd George—the elected spokesmen of two great peoples.

Yet the continued repetition of these Socialist claims—that they alone represent the people and that they alone represent ininternationalism—so boldly made and so sincerely believed by some of the fanatics making them, have made a deep impression upon many persons. For example a certain class of "intellectuals," amateur and self-appointed statesmen and advisers of statesmen, typified by a well-known weekly, have in their ignorance and inexperience been deeply impressed. Also the sentimentalists in all countries tend to accept this Socialist leadership at its own valuation. This last is the crowd that is deeply impressed every time the word peace is uttered by the German militarists—quite regardless of the fact that this propaganda is an organic part of their plan for conquering and enslaving humanity and holding it down by military power.

The problem of exposing and defeating this international copperhead movement is not only the most important of the

whole war, but it is the problem that is most pressing at the present moment. The idea of an international Socialist conference to agree upon a compromise and to compel the governments to accept that compromise by means of threats of a general strike has recently been revived and it has been boldly proclaimed that this movement will come to a crisis within a month or two.

The Bolsheviki and other party Socialists are reckoning upon a period of military stalemate early in the summer. Mr. Sidney Webb in an article in *The New Republic* definitely predicts that about that time "the peoples will somehow take the matter out of the hands of governments." Camille Huysmans, the secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, openly takes the same view, and says that Germany cannot be defeated and that the Socialists must therefore settle the war. It is further asserted by all these leaders that both sides are alike imperialistic, which justifies and calls for Socialist intervention.

These assertions, however traitorous to the cause of democracy and helpful to Kaiserism, might be ignored if it were not that the Socialists and laborites in France, England, and Italy have a great deal of power. I have already explained that the German anti-war Socialists have no effective power, but this does not apply either to Italy, France or England. The case of Italy needs no argument in view of the partial success of the strikes and mutinies of last fall. As to England it will be recalled that the most radical labor strikes have occurred largely in these industries that are most indispensable to the government, such as the railways, the mines, the steel mills and shipbuilding, etc. Already France has had some very dangerous strikes.

The Stockholm conference movement does not dare to show itself in its true colors. No better evidence can be found of its consciousness of guilt and of its willingness to betray its fellow citizens than the elaborated system of camouflage that has been adopted.

We are reassured that the conference which is to be held in Switzerland is not the same old Stockholm conference. Sidney Webb in the article already mentioned calls for a full meeting of the International Congress, "not necessarily at Stockholm, but preferably in Switzerland." As a matter of fact the proposed conference differs in no important particular from the earlier attempts which began last May and were continued throughout the summer.

Next we are told that the conference is not to be revolutionary, that it does not involve revolutionary attacks on the Entente governments. This is hardly in accord with Webb's con-

fession that the Socialists are banking upon the expectation that "the peoples will somehow take the matter out of the hands of the government."

We are further told by *The New Republic* that this is to be a conference "not for compromise, but for conciliation." Yet it would be absurd in this case to invite the German Socialists to attend, knowing the opposition both of majority and minority to nearly every one of the peace terms adopted by the Inter-Allied Conference at London. *The Manchester Guardian,* perhaps the leading mouthpiece of pacifism in England, explains the purpose of the conference and states clearly that each nation will have to surrender a part of its claims. But the peace terms declared by the allied Socialists, which are practically identical with those of Woodrow Wilson and Lloyd George, make relatively few claims for Entente nations. They merely lay down the basis for a democratic and lasting peace. If there are to be any surrenders it would be the surrender of the rights and liberties of some of the Slavic or Latin or non-Turkish populations involved in the war. It is therefore absolutely clear that the only possible purpose of an International Socialist Conference would be to abandon some of the smaller peoples to the mercies of Germany, Austria or Turkey.

This is well understood by the American Socialists. On February 5th the Executive Committee of the American party met and resolved that America should take part in the Brest-Litovsk negotiations without any conditions and that we should drop all demands whatever on behalf of the subject of the oppressed nationalities of Europe. In other words, the American Socialists demanded that we accept the proposition made by Germany of an immediate conference without conditions, that is, a conference based upon the war map. That such an International Conference would be based upon the war map is shown not only by previous explicit statements of German statesmen, but by their conduct at Brest-Litovsk. Most of this evidence was already in on February 5th at the time when the American Socialist party adopted the following remarkable resolution:

"We emphatically deny that it is necessary for the people of the United States to spill their blood and waste their treasure in order to rearrange the map of Europe. If rearrangement is necessary, it can be more speedily and more effectively accomplished by the peace conference.

"The present situation demands more than the mere statement of war aims or peace terms. An agreement to enter into peace negotiations is now imperative."

In view of this illuminating statement which may be matched by hundreds of others by leading French, British and Italian Socialists, we can have no doubt as to the action that would be taken by any Stockholm conference.

On previous occasions I have carefully analyzed the voting strength of various elements of that conference. A majority of the delegates would be out and out pro-Germans in the sense already mentioned. Of the remainder the overwhelming majority would be Bolsheviki. The pro-Entente Socialists, who regard the demands of the Allied Socialist Conference and of Woodrow Wilson and Lloyd George on behalf of the oppressed nationalities as a minimum would be in an infinitesimal minority, and even they would be counted for the German designs—for they would assent to the proposition that this conference and this conference alone represented the peoples of the allied nations, that all governments were equally without moral authority, and that the Socialists were the sole representatives of internationalism and genuine pacifism.

The one great purpose of the European Socialists in the present war is to settle it themselves independently of all governments. As Mr. Arthur Henderson recently declared:

"Peace will come when the working class movement has discovered by interchange of views the conditions of an honorable and democratic peace, worthy of the unimaginable sacrifices the people have made, and has pressed these terms upon the several governments with the resolute declaration that peace must be made on these terms and no other."

Mr. Sidney Webb uses almost this identical language in *The New Republic.* Webb says with brutal frankness: "If the International Congress came to any substantial agreement the war would have to stop."

The issue then is clear. Can we refuse to take up the challege? The Inter-Allied Socialist and Labor Conference at London proposes to send a delegation to America very shortly to secure the support of President Wilson for their epoch-making proposal, that the Socialists shall be allowed to settle the war. Either this movement must be check-mated or the democratically elected governments of France, England and America might as well abdicate.

Why hand over our governments and the fate of nations to the Socialists? Why not rather to some other religious or political sect? The Socialists are the one large organized body in the world to-day which has the worst record in the war, which

has fallen farthest short of its professions, which has most persistently served the purposes of German militarism not only in Russia and Italy, but in America and every other country. Yet this body, repudiated by all the great democracies after wrecking one great nation—now asks that all governments—in this crisis of crises—surrender their powers into its hands!

When I speak of the Socialists, I am speaking, of course, not of Socialism, but of a certain organized body of men with a certain political record. Just as when I speak of Republicans and Democrats I speak not of republics and democracies, but of certain specific political organizations. Socialism does not and cannot come into the question. Some of the most violent anti-Socialists of the world, such as the anti-Semites of Austria, call themselves Socialists. And it will not be questioned outside of Germany that the worst enemies of Socialism to-day are those Socialists of Germany who openly support Kaiserism. The other factions in Germany and other countries that are working for the immediate peace called for by the Kaiser are anti-Socialist only in lesser degree. On the other hand, the principles of internationalism, professed but never practiced by the party Socialists, are being put into effect by Woodrow Wilson and Lloyd George.

# GERMANY'S BIGGEST FRAUD—SOCIAL REFORM

By Gustavus Myers,

*Publicist and Historian*

All of us must confess to being victims. We were the victims of a monstrous imposture. It took us a long while to find it out, but at any rate we have found it out. Unsophisticated and credulous as we once were, we drank in the fairy tales of Germany's being a paradise for all of its people. We never suspected that this was the most far-reaching propaganda that the German Government had incited. We did not dream that many of our own writers and speakers, whose glowing eulogies of Germany's social progress we read, were unconscious agents of the Kaiser's publicity department. We fondly absorbed all of the assertions about German social efficiency. Deeply impressed by the many accounts we read of Germany's social marvels, we were influenced to accept the claims made by the German Government of its being the most humanitarian of governments.

Curiously enough the most intelligent people were the more imposed upon. It was they who read the heavy books and the serious articles, and attended the lectures in this country, all of which extolled Germany's alleged advanced social reforms.

It is remarkable, too, that we, who in this country developed a perfect passion for the most searching inquiry into conditions of all kinds regarding our own country, should not have thought of testing the extravagant assertions made about Germany. In fact many of the very writers who muckraked conditions in this country were the identical writers who turned out articles and books effusively praising the social activities of the German Government. For instance, there is the book by Frederick C. Howe, who is now United States Immigration Commissioner, entitled "Socialized Germany," in which he makes the point that Germany is a very democratic-minded country. Some of these books are of recent publication and are being extensively circulated. Official American commissions went to Germany, complacently accepted what they were told by German officialdom, came back and embodied it in their reports.

These reports were published at the expense of the American

Government. They are in existence now. They are in all the reference libraries in this country, and naturally a whole lot of people who extolled German efficiency had to go to these reports. So they were authorities. Our American people have paid for the issuing of a whole lot of reports that the German Government was most keenly interested in getting out.

The idealization of Germany became a general mania. At the same time great numbers of equally superficial articles were published in what are called the "popular" magazines and in the newspapers. These accounts glorifying Germany's social progressiveness seeped through all the strata of our population. This publicity was reënforced by a tireless radical propaganda that, deriving its origin and stimulus from Germany, held up the German Government's social legislation as a model for the world to follow.

The iron discipline that you have heard about of the Socialist party came from where? I was one of the leading writers of the Socialist party for a great many years. Therefore I am not in any way prejudiced.

To give themselves unusual significance these radicals boasted that it was their parent movement in Germany which forced these so-called reforms from the German Government. As this radical movement became more Americanized its followers enlarged on the assertions made by its German founders.

As a matter of fact these pretensions of the German Government are very old. They date back to the time of Frederick the Great. This cynical slaughterer was the first to start the pose of being a "social reformer." His object was, of course, to chloroform his own people. He wanted to divert popular attention as much as possible from the rigors of autocracy, the exactions of feudalism and harsh militarism. He left it as a tradition to his successors that they must appear before their people in the guise of conservers of that people's welfare. Bismark was a very frank man. He prided himself upon being the servant of the Hohenzollern dynasty, and elaborated in more modern times this social reform imposture. This advocate of "blood and iron" admitted in a speech in the Reichstag in 1881 that one of his objects in pushing so-called reforms was to exalt and aggrandize the Hohenzollern dynasty. He might have added that the greatest object was to fool the German people themselves. Evidently Bismarck did not have a very high idea of the intelligence of the German people, for he reckoned that by throwing out legislative counterfeits to them he could strangle the growing democratic tendencies of the time. Events in the last few years have shown that he was right in estimating that the radical movement in

Germany could be easily bribed, drugged, and yoked to the cause of Hohenzollerns.

Trained by Germany's educational system to look up with awe and religious reverence to imperial authority, the German people at large have believed what the government told them. They believe it to this day. When they were told that other governments were antiquated and barbaric compared to the modernism of the German Government they devoutly believed it. Even such as were inclined to doubt it were swayed by their native egotism which the German Government has systematically developed, to join in the general chorus of self-praise. Only a very few spoke the truth, and their voices were lost, unheeded or gagged.

The first object of the German Government, to befool its own people, was successfully accomplished. As Germany became more of an industrial state and its rulers dreamed more and more of world conquest it deliberately set out to create a world opinion favorable to itself. With an overweening belief in their knowledge of the technique of psychology they thought they knew how to master the world's public opinion. As a part of this campaign the German professors were employed to spread abroad the picture of a glorious Germany, preoccupied with social reform. This screened from the world's view the real autocracy that was feverishly rushing preparations for what we have seen in its present huge war for conquest. While the Kaiser during this time was volubly representing himself as the grand guardian of the world's peace, his intellectual agents were used as the decoys to blind the world to what was really impending.

The Germany that the world was allowed to see was a purely fictitious one. It was a Germany portrayed as having a prosperous, protected and happy population. It was a Germany, the world was assured, having the best schools, the most careful provision for children and mothers, the most advanced laws for farmers, the most progressive factory and housing conditions, the greatest securities for accidents, sickness, old age. Its people, the world was positively assured, were well-fed, their health conserved by every safeguard, their morals high. Endless was the reiteration that slums in Germany had been abolished and that pauperism was almost unknown.

What was the cumulative effect of all this propaganda? The evil that had been implanted in the United States showed itself hideously during the war. In the minds of sections of our own people an admiration for the German government and Germany had been built up. Now came to the surface the teachings that they had imbibed of the superiority of the Kaiser's government.

Permeated with these ideas, they could not see Germany as it actually was and is. Knowing nothing of the feudal autocracy governing Germany, enslaving all thought and action, they could not conceive that Germany was warring upon the world's freedom. So many of our writers had represented Germany as a democratically-minded country that some of our people could not understand that this was a clear-cut fight between a ruthless autocracy and the democratic forces of the world. They did not know the elemental fact that in Germany, especially its dictator, Prussia, the common people have no real political power. None of the extravagant accounts that they had read had told them what is the fact, that all law-making power in Germany is effectively concentrated in the hands of the feudal nobility and the rich and that no real reforms have ever been permitted by Germany's governing classes. The propaganda in question had kept from our people the truth concerning Germany's iron militaristic system and the brutal political and industrial exploitation of the mass of the German people.

If the German people were happy, as these writers effusively described them, it must have been a peculiar sort of happiness produced by long working hours, semi-starvation wages, frightfully congested housing quarters, chronic underfeeding and an ever increasing pressure of pauperism. Ignorant of these *actual* conditions, their minds filled with the agreeable pictures stimulated by their reading matter, many people in this country refused to believe that such an enlightened and humanitarian country as they imagined Germany to be, could be guilty of the frightful atrocities so continually repeated.

No greater falsehood was ever spread than the fanciful claim of the German government's superiority in social progress, and none is so easy of complete refutation. All that the inquirer has to do is to consult the German official reports themselves in order to get the facts. Nothing so thoroughly exposes Germany's pretensions as the facts which its own reports give.

The summary of facts which I am presenting here are all taken from German official reports or other German authorities. In this account I am not including war time conditions which are abnormal; I am dealing solely with the normal conditions of peace times.

First in order, the condition of the farmers will be considered. Notwithstanding Germany's industrial expansion in recent decades. Germany has remained largely agricultural; the occupational census of 1907 showed that of 26,827,000 persons occupied, 9,883,000 were engaged in agriculture and 11,256,000 in manufacture.

There are two general classes of farmers in Germany sharply separated both in law and custom.

Lording over legislation and bumptious with arrogant self-importance, unyielding believers in the divine right of kings is the compact league of Junkers or feudal land-owning aristocracy. Far beneath them and constantly made to feel their lowly lot are the millions of peasant farmers.

In this school system that I spoke about, their job is to educate, definitely educate the lower classes so that they will be content with their station in life and not aspire to rise higher. That is the job of the schools there, and they do it.

While the peasants have but the tiniest bits of land—36.3 per cent. of the farms in Germany are under one and a quarter acres, and 22.6 per cent. one and one quarter to five acres—a comparatively small group of Junkers own nearly 25,000,000 acres contained in estates of 250 to 500 acres and more. The Junkers have their powerful organization, the Agricultural League, which has been used with such force to enlarge the interests and power of the landed aristocrats that in sheer self-defense the peasant farmers had to form their own organization, called the Peasants' League. They had to form their own league, that is, they recognized their standing at law as peasants, nothing else but peasants. But the laws made by the Junkers deprived many of these peasants of any influence whatever on legislation. Under these laws only farmers who pay taxes (and many peasant farmers are renters) are allowed to vote, and even their vote is confined to elections for the Reichstag, which is merely a debating society without any real power. So the Peasants' League has, therefore, had little or no political influence. As for moral influence, that is a thing not recognized in Germany, where only the doctrine of might commands respect.

Americans have heard much from the German propagandists of the wonders done for the German farmers by the Prussian Landschaften or Mutual Farm Loan Associations in extending credit based upon land. The fact that it was for the single and distinct purpose of benefiting the landed aristocracy that the Prussian Landschaften was established by Frederick the Great in 1767, and it has continued so to the present time.

Testifying in 1912, Dr. Kapp-Konigsberg, general director of the Prussian Landschaften, made no secret of this fact, and he further related that the millions of peasant farmers had received little benefit from it.

"Of the estates," he testified, "which exceed 100 hectares (a hectare is not quite two and a half acres) 66.3 per cent. have availed themselves of landschaft loans; the corresponding

proportion in the case of peasant holdings is only 13.5 per cent." These figures lucidly show who it is that have derived the benefit from the much glorified Prussian Landschaften.

Another example of glowing German propaganda is the stream of eulogies on the law of 1850 establishing annuity banks, otherwise government credit institutions. This law has been cited as an instance of Germany's advanced social legislation nearly seventy years ago. What the eulogists have not told is that this law was enacted by the Junkers for the express purpose of modernizing feudal tribute.

In many countries feudalism was swept away long ago, but in Germany many of the peasant farms are still encumbered by feudal servitudes. The feudal barons wanted to be sure of getting these, so they had legislation passed making the government practically responsible for these feudal payments. The annuity banks issue annuity bonds, and the Prussian government guarantees them. These loans, made to enable the peasant farmer to pay off feudal servitudes to the barons, run from 50 to 60 years. By the year 1909 the amount of these annuity bonds was more than 500,000,000 marks. The millions of peasant farmers have not only had to pay directly or indirectly crushing taxes to support the militarist régime, but they have had to meet feudal obligations put upon their land centuries ago.

To this very day the most severe restraints are placed by law in Germany upon any attempt of agricultural workers to better their condition. The German criminal code prohibits agricultural workers the right to organize and strike. Every person coming in or out of a rural community must register with the local representative of the government or be reported to the police.

This, of course, applies to women as well as men, for in Germany the larger part of the farm work, and the heavy work at that, has been done by women. In peace times it was a common sight to note women hitched with cattle and dogs drawing plows and carts; they hoed, pitched hay and spread manure; in Bavaria women acted as hod carriers; wielded heavy hammers in breaking huge stones and did regular service as wood choppers, heavy load carriers and other onerous jobs. In 1912 a woman farm laborer received in marks about 38 to 48 cents a day, and children over 12 years, 24 cents a day, in both cases without board. Men farm laborers were paid 3 marks or 72 cents a day. These wages were considered high by the employing Junkers. The common meal of the German farmer in peace times was merely a large bowl of soup and dry rye bread, with a bit of sausage.

These are but a few characteristic examples of the conditions of the small farmers in Germany.

The lot of the millions of industrial workers in Germany has been of the most debasing character.

In the United States the eight hour day has long been established in many trades. But in Germany, up to the very beginning of the war, the general workday was from 57 to 60 hours a week, and in some trades 12 to 14 hours a day were common. Why have the work hours been so long and the wages so low? One main reason is that German workmen did not get the privilege to organize until long after other countries had afforded it as a fundamental right. Even to-day their meetings are still under close bureaucratic surveillance and threat of dispersion by the police. How little freedom of action the German people are allowed is graphically shown by the fact that at this late day the German Social Democrats are making as one of their demands the right of assemblage without police interference.

Controlling the government, intrenched Junkerdom has adroitly devised laws forbidding any rights or any real political power to the workers.

Under the old election laws, still in force, the Junkers control the nation and the big propertied interests the cities. The vote is graded according to the amount of taxes.

Property qualification is still the universal system in Prussia and Saxony and the prevalent system in the cities of south Germany. This system allows in Berlin, for example, one first-class vote the same representation in the city government as 375 third class or workers' vote.

In the big textile mills of Saxony adult males have been paid at the rate of 6 to less than 8 cents an hour or an average of $3.33 to $3.75 a week. In March 1914 skilled workers in many trades in Germany were getting average wages varying from $5.58 to $8.16 a week. In the woodworking industry, employing 800,000 persons, the average weekly earnings of adult males were $5.99 a week. An investigation in 1910 of certain wage-earning families in forty German towns showed that although the family's annual expenditure was $443.55, the average man wage-earner's wage was only $360.89.

How, in millions of German workers' households, this deficit has been made up is no mystery. It has been made up in part by the women and children being forced to work in factories, shops, mines, and in home sweatshops.

So low and insufficient have been the wages paid to men that the putting to work of women and children often becomes a dire necessity in many a worker's household. In 1913 there were

9,500,000 wage-earning women in Germany. Large numbers were employed in the factories of Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemberg, Hesse and Alsace-Lorraine. In the textile factories of Saxony alone more than 400,000 women were employed. In Berlin, in 1905, there were more than 100,000 home sweatshop workers, 80 per cent. of them women. Women in German factories worked 11 hours a day up to 1910, when government regulation reduced the hours to 10 a day, and 8 hours on Saturday. In home sweatshops, however, a 14 hour day was common.

I am confining this paper of mine purely to facts. They are necessary things to give and they are what we in this country have never had.

The wages of women workers in Germany have been incredibly low. In the metal, electrical, paper, woodworking, chemical, leather and rubber and other industries their wages, in 1914, averaged from 41 cents to 67 cents a day. Big textile mills as late as 1917, notwithstanding the enormously increased cost of living, were paying women weekly wages of only $1.30 and $1.43.

In the metal trades, employing in 1916 a total of 266,530 women and girls, the war wage for women was only 71 cents a day for the heaviest physical work causing severe physical strain.

One of the things that was always brought up about Germany in contrast with this country, according to many writers, was that Germany had no child labor—no pauperism and no child labor. In what they tell us, children there are looked after, they are put to school—they have compulsory education—they are all well fed, they are protected against disease. Let us see what the facts are.

In the United States the evils of child labor have been steadily reduced by the State and Federal legislation. In 1910 we deplored the fact that 150,000 children under 16 years of age were employed in factories, and since then the federal act has put it down to much less than that. But in Germany, in 1911, there was a reported total of nearly 600,000 children of 14 to 16 years employed in mills, mines and factories, and many more who were unreported, that is, they made a practice of not reporting any establishment where there were less than ten people employed. Of this total of nearly 600,000 child laborers in Germany nearly 430,000 were girls who were employed in mines, factories and shops. It has been customary, very common, in Germany to employ girls in mines—salt mines, coal mines, and so forth. Were it not for the earnings of women and child members of workers' families, scant as these earnings have

been, great numbers of working class families could not possibly have existed on the wages of the men workers. That is the reason why Germany was able to sell goods so cheaply, not merely the underpaid labor but the number of women and children employed there at starvation wages.

The Kaiser was always prating of the German home and what a wonderful institution the German family was. But the members of the German working class family, men, women and children, were usually engaged in outside drudgery, seeing little of one another. One of the Kaiser's favorite devices to impress the rest of the world was to moralize on the excellencies and superiority of German family life. His publicity staff took up the imperial cue and elaborated with touching eloquence upon the subject.

Most of this was mere fiction. The autocracy with its two main branches, the Junkers and the industrial lords, cared no more for the German home in peace times than they have in war times. The greater the supply of woman and child labor, the better satisfied they were. It fitted in with the aims of the military machine, which needed the men for the barracks and war, and it enabled the Junkers and industrial lords by getting the cheapest possible labor to undersell the rest of the world.

At the same time, the boosters of Germany, always shunning statistical facts, wove the most alluring stories of what a comfortable, satisfied class the German workers were. They told the world nothing of the strikes constantly going on in Germany, and the real meaning of those strikes. A strike in Germany had a far greater significance than in other countries, because from the earliest years the cowed German worker is taught to be submissive to authority and to do nothing officially prohibited. Fear of the bureaucratic authorities and of employers (who are often one and the same) has been ground into his very marrow.

In these circumstances conditions must be triply unendurable to induce him to strike. Yet from 1904 to 1906, according to the figures of the German Imperial Statistics Office, there was an annual average of 279,817 striking and locked-out workers in Germany. From 1909 to 1913 the annual average was 327,593.

What was the result of these strikes in this much vaunted paragon land of social justice? Employers at all times instantly availed themselves of the cruel police methods and arbitrary court power which in Germany are always at the disposal of the employing magnates. I ask you to pay particular attention to the figures that I am about to give. The German Statistical Year Book, from which I am taking this, giving the outcome of strikes and lockouts in Germany, reported that in 1912 only

4.8 per cent. of the strikes obtained complete success, and 26.9 per cent. were partially successful. But 68.3 per cent., more than two-thirds, of the strikes, were crushingly defeated. They were browbeaten, intimidated, clubbed and starved back to work, without gaining a single point. This in Germany, the grand home of advanced social legislation.

The same authority—the German Statistical Year Book—shows that in Great Britain and Ireland in the same year 74.5 per cent. of the labor conflicts resulted in full victory for the strikers. In about 11 per cent. of the strikes the British, Scotch and Irish strikers were partially successful, and only 14.3 per cent. of the strikes were failures. In 1912 in Belgium 45.3 per cent. of the strikes were successful and 23.8 per cent. unsuccessful. In Holland 27.5 per cent. of the strikes were successful and 32.4 per cent. failures.

These figures and this contrast show German "Kultur" in genuine operation. Of course, they don't agree with the resplendent tales spread broadcast about the marvels of the German Government's paternal benevolence. Here again the German Government must have had a contemptuous opinion of the caliber of the writers who went to Germany on the much advertised mission of describing German conditions. It estimated their mentality rightly, feeling certain that they would never take the trouble of consulting the dry but eloquent statistics which the German Government itself published.

When we come to housing conditions in Germany we reach a subject upon which the puffers of Germany have been enthusiastic. Their stock in trade has been an enumeration of its "model dwellings." Thus they gave the impression that Germany was a celestial land of "model dwellings." But these exhibits did not in any way represent the habitations of the millions of German workers. They were built for show and for officialdom and for the legion of sub-officials, the petty officials of all kinds of the German Government. In no country have the workers been more frightfully overcrowded in demoralizing living quarters than in Germany.

The cold facts are that since 1886 very little has been done in legislation for improving housing conditions in Germany. In fact all they have done is to make a few minor building regulations. Not a law has been passed since 1886.

During that time the greatest transformation in housing conditions has gone on in the United States and in some other countries. But for more than thirty years, with the exception of some minor building laws, housing conditions in Germany have remained stagnant.

Why? Chiefly because the voting power is centered in the hands of the rich. Composed largely of landlords and land and building speculators, the city councils have stubbornly opposed any real housing reforms that would benefit the working class. The same is true of rich and powerful obstructionists controlling legislative bodies.

Not merely in Berlin but throughout all Germany the notorious "barrack" tenement house is the usual living quarters for the mass of workers, skilled and unskilled. In almost all German cities it has been the rule to build these malodorous "barracks," in series of blocks, one behind the other. Visitors seeing only the ornate street exteriors could get no conception of the repulsiveness of these dismal "barracks" in the rear. The apartments facing the street are occupied chiefly by the well-to-do. The workers are shoved to the "barracks" in the forbidding back passageways. Of five and six stories, these formidable buildings are only 30 or 40 feet apart. The narrow courtyards are wrapt in perpetual gloom. Few rooms ever see sunlight. And in these working class habitations in general, bath facilities are almost unknown, and the sanitary accommodations are commonly of the most antiquated type. The family must supply its own heat. The rooms are bare, no adornment or fixtures of any kind furnished by the owner.

The Berlin housing census of 1910 showed that of 555,416 dwellings, housing a population of 1,996,994 persons,

That 40,690 dwellings consisted of one room.

That 186,756 dwellings consisted of two rooms.

That 180,850 dwellings consisted of three rooms.

That 62,676 dwellings consisted of four rooms.

The comparatively small remainder of five to seven rooms.

That 34,508 dwellings had no kitchen at all.

That in 41,115 households, roomers were kept.

That in 58,400 households, lodgers (renting beds by the night) were taken in.

That a total of 64,031 regular roomers and 88,560 lodgers were kept. But this was a very incomplete register. Many families have concealed the fact that they kept lodgers.

The preponderance of working people, the Berlin housing census of 1910 showed, were herded chiefly in one- or two-room habitations. These workers were not unskilled laborers. They were largely skilled workers. German writers on housing conditions in Berlin stated that 45 per cent. of the families in Berlin lived in one room. Whatever the proportion, it has been considerable. But the two-room flat has been the usual working class abode. These two rooms consist of a combination living

and bedroom occupied day and night throughout the year, and the other room a small kitchen, which likewise is pressed into service as a bedroom. In these stuffy rooms there could commonly be found a family of four to six persons and boarders and lodgers besides. Husband and wife and children often slept in the kitchen, and the other room was let out to lodgers.

The housing conditions here described apply essentially to practically all other German cities. They are general, not local, conditions. In the United States we have some bad spots in some of our largest cities, but comparing conditions in our country as a whole to those in Germany as a whole, housing here is so far superior to anything that Germany can show that by comparison Germany is a backward country. In addition to rent, all German workers with incomes of $225 or more a year have to pay heavy local taxes and State income taxes.

In normal times the average German worker's family would have been on the border line of near starvation had it not been for the practice of taking in lodgers and roomers. Even with the additional revenue thus extracted, the German skilled worker's income was so paltry that underfeeding was chronic.

Before the war there was a great consumption of horse flesh or dog flesh. Otherwise only the very cheapest kind of meats, usually swine products, ever came on the average skilled worker's table. The family seldom had fish, eggs or butter; sugar, fruit, tea, chocolate and cocoa were equally rare. Coffee substitutes were largely used. With its food confined mainly to milk, cheap meats, bread, pastry and potatoes and only occasionally butter and eggs, the average expenditure of the average skilled worker's family for foods amounted in peace times to about $218 a year. The unskilled laborer's family fared, of course, much worse. Much of the prepared food sold to the German working class has been grossly adulterated.

The direct result of housing congestion, improper nourishment and mothers being forced to work in factories, has been an enormous infant mortality rate in Germany.

Excepting European Russia and Austria, Germany has had the highest infant mortality rate of any registered country. The average rate of Germany's deaths under one year per 100 births for 1910-1914 was 17. During the same years the average infant mortality rate for Spain, Bulgaria, Japan, Italy, Belgium, France, England and Wales, Scotland, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, ranged from 16.5 to 7 per 100 births. German "Kultur" was twice or more as disastrous to infant life as was the ordinary civilization of such countries as Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

During the very years when the rest of the world was being entertained so lavishly with glittering narratives of Germany's efficiency, the infant mortality rate in German cities was excessive. The 1912 report of the Prussian Medical Department Ministry of the Interior stated that per 1,000 of living children the infant death rate in 1912 was 146 in Dusseldorf; 178 in Berlin; 203 in Danzic; 203 in Breslau; 202 in Magdeburg; 212 in Posen. New York City's death rate in 1912 was only 105 per 1,000 births. Boston's was only 110. Cincinnati was 103. These were strikingly low death rates for American cities considering that in many of our cities there is a very large motley foreign polyglot population. The problem of educating these elements in health matters is by no means an easy one. Germany has no such problem. Even facing this difficult problem, the infant mortality rates of American cities with preponderant white population is far less than that of German cities.

Now we come to the most plausible of all Germany's pretensions and the most hollow. We all know of the incessant bragging about Germany's social insurance laws and the alleged miracles they have wrought. Let us see what they are and what have been the net results.

Germany's compulsory sickness and workingmen's insurance system dates from 1883-84. Its invalidity and old-age insurance dates from 1889. The word pension has a high-sounding significance, giving the impression of a sufficiency to cover normal wants. But when we analyze the official figures of the German Government this is what we find:

In 1914 the largest pension given did not amount to $1 a week. The disabled had to get along on a pension of about 91 cents a week, and less in previous years. The sick invalid in 1914 had to subsist on a pension of 95 cents a week, and old age on a pension of less than 77 cents a week. Widows and widowers, sick widows and orphans each received the extravagant pension of between 26 and 39 cents a week.

How did they manage to live on these scant sums in a country where the lowest possible scale of living costs an adult $155 a year? The answer is that many of them, as the records show, had also to draw poor relief alms to keep life together. They had to register themselves as paupers in order to get poor relief funds.

Eulogists of Germany have had much to say about the social insurance laws. But they have said nothing about these laws being so counterfeit and such a sham that many of the recipients of pensions were driven into depending upon pauper bounties.

The main convincing argument originally used in promoting

social insurance laws in Germany was that they would protect the people against want.

But pauperism has enormously increased in Germany. According to Dr. Friederich Zahn, Director of the Royal Bavarian Statistical Office, the number of persons receiving poor relief from the public funds in Berlin increased yearly from 31,358 in 1891 to 55,601 in 1909. This was an increase in pauperism from 1.99 per 100 inhabitants in 1891 to 2.64 per 100 inhabitants in 1909. Nor does this tell the whole story. It does not include a large number of people receiving pauper benefits from private societies and organizations of all kinds.

In Munich, Leipsic, Breslau, Frankfort-on-Main, Nuremberg, Dusseldorf, Elberfeld and other cities the increase in pauperism as Dr. Zahn specifically showed, went on continously. In Bavaria, the richest agricultural state in Germany, the number of paupers relieved, "excluding other members of the family", steadily increased year after year from 189,484 in 1900 to 230,218 in 1911. During the same period the expenditures for poor relief in Bavaria increased from 1.5 marks to 2.1 marks. The increase of pauperism went on contemporaneously in rural Germany. For example the public cost alone of the rural poor relief in Westphalia increased from 300,000 marks in 1886 to 1,034,650 marks in 1909, and in Rhenish Prussia from 611,000 marks in 1886 to 1,697,000 marks in 1909. Part of this increased expenditure was caused by the greater cost of supplies, but the bulk was brought about by a sheer increase in pauperism.

When a German admits himself a pauper he is plunged into the very depths of legal as well as social degradation. Under German law generally the man who officially becomes a pauper loses even the phantom voting rights that he had. He is prohibited from voting in the Empire, in the State, in the Commune or even in the church. He is debarred from serving as a juror and disqualified for all other civil capacities. He is not even allowed the ordinary rights of settling anywhere. That in the face of such drastic penalties, great numbers of Germans should let themselves be classified as paupers shows the dire straits to which they have been driven.

Many people have been surprised by the lack of morality shown by Germany during the war. They would not have been astonished had they known of the continual sweep of criminality in the German Empire before the war. The number of convictions for crimes of all kinds was enormous. Juvenile criminality was rampant. And from 1901 to 1910 about 178,000 illegitimate children were yearly born in Germany. These results were caused partly by prevalent social and industrial malad-

justment, and in part by the scorn of morality made fashionable and popular by German philosophers, militarists and their teachers.

All of the conditions which I have here briefly described were accompanied by the most startling wave of suicides. Here was another patent fact passed over by the eulogists. If Germany was such a heaven on earth, why should so large a number of its people, especially its children, project themselves into suicide?

There were before the war 15 child suicides in Berlin to every one in New York City. There were approximately four suicides of adolescents in Saxony, which is an intensively industrial state, to every one suicide in the United States. As for the general suicide rate including all ages, it has been abnormally high in many parts of Germany. During the five years ended with 1913 the suicide rate per 100,000 of population was 32.6 in Saxony; 33.1 in the Province of Brandenburg, exclusive of the city of Berlin; and 16.2 in Bavaria. It was twice as large in Saxony, which is a state corresponding to many of our industrial cities and states, as it was in the industrial area of the United States. During the same period the suicide rate of the United States Registration Area was 16.1 per 100,000 population. The suicide rate of the city of Berlin during the five years ended with 1913 was, per 100,000 population, 35.8 against 17.2 for the City of New York, and 11 for London.

The foregoing facts are merely an outline of the actual conditions long prevailing in Germany. When Dr. Karl Liebnecht, member of the Reichstag, wrote in 1916 that "the German Government in its social and historical composition is an instrument for the oppression and the exploitation of the working masses; it serves the interests of Junkerdom, of capitalism, and of Imperialism both at home and abroad," he stated a truth that intelligent Germans know but which few dared avow. The German Government may still deceive the bulk of its subjects, but with the diffusion of the facts the rest of the world will no longer be imposed upon by what was always a colossal pretense needing only inquiry to explode it completely.

# WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

By Hilda M. Richards,

*Chief of the Woman's Division, Department of Labor*

In these critical days of the war when the democracy of the world is being fought for by the Allied countries, it would seem superflous to have to emphasize to an American audience the fact that women have a most important part to play in this world struggle for freedom. And yet as I sense the attitude of our country toward the woman power which could contribute so much toward speeding up the production of war essentials, I must confess that public opinion has not stimulated the entrance of women into the essential industries during war time.

We must learn the lessons taught by England and France with regard to the part our American women must take to help win the war. We must seriously consider the question which confronts us, namely: "How can the woman power of America be utilized so far as war industries are concerned?" American women have, with true patriotic spirit, registered their desire to serve wherever and whenever they may be needed. From coast to coast thousands have volunteered to serve through a registration made by the Woman's Committee of the Councils of Defense. Illinois has 600,000; Missouri 300,000; Tennessee 250,000; Kansas 100,000; Mississippi 70,000; Oklahoma, 70,000; Idaho 55,000. And if I were to go on naming all the states and the total number of women registered for service, you would thrill at the thought that our women have not been "slackers." Not only have women registered their desire to serve throughout the country, but they have produced the essentials for the Army and Navy and all other Departments which have needed clothing, food and materials for our soldiers. In canned goods, drugs, tobacco, etc., there are approximately 200,000 women; in textiles 275,000; in occupations closely related to textiles there are over 200,000 women; knitting and hosiery mills 130,000; shoe manufactures 95,000. I wish I had but time to name the various war occupations in which women are engaged for the production of war materials from the manufacture of tents and kindred war supplies to optical lenses and scientific instruments.

To make the proportion of women employed in this country on the same basis as England it is necessary to have the number employed 11,800,000 or an increase of 8,152,135. In times of peace women of the United States were working in 295 trades and occupations out of 303 listed by the census, and of the industrial workers at the outbreak of the war more than 2,000,000 were women.

Within the next six months it is estimated by the Committee on Public Information that we must furnish 1,000,000 workers for Agriculture, nearly 400,000 for shipbuilding, 1,000,000 to man ships, 250,000 for transportation, 250,000 for manufacture and transportation of munitions and rifles. It is estimated that four men are needed at home to maintain one fighting man at the front and that at least one of these men is a "woman."

These figures are not given with the intention of presenting statistics, but to bring home to you the fact that as our men are drafted and the additional number of men are called to take their places in war production, women must of necessity be used to make up the required quota.

In this country we have not yet experienced the terrific pressure that has been felt by England. They started in the war with one and a quarter million more women than men. We started with two million more men than women. In spite of this the census bureau informs us that there are approximately 2,000,000 single women between the ages of 15 and 40 who are not employed and not attending school and therefore presumably a large number available for employment.

I do not wish to convey the impression that women are not now in industries and various government departments. The Civil Service Commission states that approximately 20,000 women have been appointed to positions since the war started.

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|---|---|---|
| Food | 1,160 | |
| Fuel | 331 | |
| Navy | 485 | |
| Commerce | 317 | |
| Agriculture | 2,253 | In Washington |
| " | 2,047 | " Field |
| Emergency Fleet | 276 | |
| Bureau of Engraving | 4,000 | |
| Ordnance | 2,618 | |
| Treasury Increased | 2,000 | |
| | 15,487 | |

Think of the additional number of women in the Red Cross, Y. W. C. A. and other war relief organizations all doing splendid war work.

What I do mean to point out is that women in industry are needed as never before to help win the war, and if we can create a public sentiment which will help in the passage of laws to protect women in industry, we shall have taken a step toward the proper readjustment that must necessarily take place during the war and after the war is over. Women are to take their places by the side of men in the reconstruction period after the war and therefore women must take their places by the side of men during the war.

To place women in industry where there are enough men available and able to do the work, would be only to lower the standards we have advocated these many years. We must not encourage the women to take positions which men are ready and able to fill, for this would lower the wage standard. Neither should we encourage volunteers to take the place of wage-earners, thus supplanting their sisters who need the work and are trained to do it. "Equal pay for equal work" with regard to women has been the slogan adopted by the War Labor Conference Board, composed of representatives of employers and employees, which recently met, at the request of the Secretary of Labor, to aid in the formation of a National Labor Program for the period of the war.

With laws protecting women, with an equal wage standard as that paid to men, with changes in machinery necessary if women are to handle them, there is no reason why women should not take their places in the industrial world in larger numbers than ever before. When we know that 2,000,000 women are in industries now and that they are in munitions, aircraft plants, and other war industries, we may feel that the outlook for war production is hopeful.

I am reminded of a woman who came to see me to say that if instead of making men's neckties she could run her power machine to produce soldiers' uniforms she would not feel so tired at the end of the long day. This is indicative of the tendency of many women who wish to turn from so-called non-essential industries to essential industries. A spirit of restlessness has seized many of our women who want to change their work. This is only natural because it is actuated by a patriotic desire to do work which seems more directly to bear upon the prosecution of the war. We must, however, bring home to these women the fact that every woman cannot leave the post allotted to her for other work, and that if a continuous stream of women leave their present positions, such shifting will make the problem of production more difficult and involved.

In an Ohio city the largest number of applicants for positions

in a munitions factory were registered as school teachers and servants. Both these types had become tired of their old positions and they could earn a larger salary at the new work offered.

We are awake in this country *now*, we know the responsibility that rests upon the United States if the world is to be made safe for democracy, and we must strike now if we are to uphold the ideals for which we have stood. If women are needed in the field, in the factory or for any work in this crisis, let us not keep them from these tasks by old-fashioned ideas that have long since perished in a modern world. Let us not thwart the purpose which women are endeavoring to accomplish to-day by a public opinion which says that we ought not to permit women to go forth and serve.

If we place responsibility upon the women who are appointed to carry on war work, we ought to place power in the hands of these women so that they can accomplish their tasks just as England and France have done. The time has passed when we can afford to appoint women to advise men how to advise women.

On January 3, 1918, the Secretary of Labor, when he established the Employment Service, created a Woman's Division. Although the scope of work of this Division has never been outlined by the department, the possibilities of work which could be undertaken are evident. (1) The placement of women in the positions for which they are best fitted, whether the woman be a college graduate, a specially trained woman, a munition worker or a clerk or stenographer; (2) through the public employment bureaus, city, state and federal, mobilize the women power of the country for the work for which they are needed, shifting the woman labor supply from those places where there is no demand to those localities where it can be utilized; (3) study the new occupations open to women with a view to the selection of workers for those trades; (4) as a result of such studies focus the attention of the schools for industrial training on the need for offering courses to train workers; (5) assist in establishing a welfare department that shall see that moral and physical needs of the workers are not neglected; (6) stimulate public opinion in order to protect women workers from exploitation; (7) coördinate the agencies endeavoring to help the women workers of the United States in order to effect close coöperation among these agencies; (8) utilize the machinery available for placing women on the land where they are needed; (9) looking forward to the reconstruction period after the war, organize a committee to look into the possible permanency of women in the various war jobs, in order to provide regulations for such work;

(10) and last, but not least, in assisting in the dilution process, provide, so far as is within the power of the Labor Department, that women and children shall not be exploited during a war fought for democracy, nor after democracy has been established as a result of that war.

This is the work that a Woman's Division of the Department of Labor could well do to serve the women and the men of America.

The question has arisen as to whether the work of women in industry will become permanent. My own judgment in the matter is that many of the new occupations now undertaken by women will be permanent after the war, for several reasons. Many of the men who have left their work to fight, unfortunately will not return. Still others will return maimed and crippled. Others will not be content to go back to lighter forms of work after their strenuous outdoor life. Thus the positions which all of these men held will be filled by women. Then, too, more women will be economically dependent upon their earnings, possibly fewer will marry, and the woman who has taken the place of her husband or son in industry, will become firmly rooted. Therefore we ought to deal with the problem of the entrance of women into new industries as a permanent one.

At this very hour the fate of the Allies hangs by a thread "over there." Over here we have the courage, the strength, the power, utilizing men and women for all tasks, to bring victory where it seemed defeat might come. We women must stand back of the President and the administration and do all within our power to make a united people who must fight a united foe. These are not the days for parleys, petty factions, and dreams, but now we must do or die. The women as well as the men cry out from the depths of their souls, "Give us Liberty or give us Death."

When I was a little girl my father, a veteran of the Civil War, used to tell me stories of the battle of Gettysburg and other famous battles, and he always concluded with this moral—"So you see, it is a great thing to be a good soldier." We must all be good soldiers in this struggle that the history of America will not have one "blot on the scutcheon."

When the history of this war is written, the women of all nations will be praised for their heroic work, and I trust that no country will be more proud of its women than our own.

Premier Lloyd George has said: "Woman's work in the war has been a vital contribution to our success. It would have been impossible to produce that overwhelming mass of ammunition at the Somme had it not been for the work of the women.

They have shown a devotion, a zeal, a courage which are beyond challenge."

Again Monsieur Flandin says: "What French women have done to keep the courage of the nation during the dark days cannot be measured in words. They have been the backbone of national defense."

M. Tardieu, French High Commissioner, has recently stated: "There is no line of mechanics in which our women have not become proficient since the men have gone to war. And surely what French women have done American women can do."

Thus have the representatives of the Allied countries voiced their appreciation of the work of women in the world war. When the part America is to play in this war has become a real and penetrating factor for victory, what will the spokesman of our country say about the women of America?

President Wilson pays this tribute to the women of America: "I think the whole country has appreciated the way in which the women have risen to this great occasion. They have not only done what they have been asked to do, and done it with ardor and efficiency, but they have shown a power to organize for doing things on their own initiative, which is quite a different thing and a very much more difficult thing. I think the whole country has admired the spirit and the capacity and devotion of the women of the United States. It goes without saying that the country depends upon the women for a large part of the inspiration of its life. That is obvious. But it is now depending upon the women also for suggestions of service, which have been rendered in abundance and with the distinction of originality."

# WOMEN IN FINANCE

By Mary Synon,

*Treasurer of the Woman's Liberty Loan Committee*

I am sure that there is not an American in the country to-night who is not in his heart and soul a soldier of the United States. We women feel that we have proven our right to call ourselves soldiers by the organization of the army of which Mrs. McAdoo herself has been placed at the head in the field, and I take pleasure in announcing to you to-night as the representative of the Woman's Liberty Loan Committee that there are to-day through the United States exactly—no, not exactly, because there are more than five hundred thousand women behind the soldiers of our country.

When you remember that a year ago there were less than fifty women at the most, selling bonds through the United States, you will understand how very remarkable has been this progress of women into a highly specialized financial field.

The question of how it has been done is probably one of the most remarkable in the world, because we had to meet altogether new conditions. There was probably no condition newer to women than the entrance into the field of finance; but to-day every county in the United States has a woman chairman for the Liberty Loan; and when you consider that there are thirty-two hundred counties, and that we have thirty-two hundred county chairmen, you will know what the organization means. When you remember, too, that every county chairman has township chairmen working under her, to such number that we have counted up forty-nine thousand five hundred township chairmen in the country to-day, you will know to what that organization has grown. There must be for every township chairman at least ten workers—a very conservative estimate. You will also see that our estimate of five hundred thousand is less than the actual number, because the cities are not represented in that. When you know that New York City alone has twenty-five thousand women selling bonds; that Chicago has more than ten thousand; that Boston has eight thousand; St. Louis seventeen thousand; Louis-

ville, Kentucky, twenty-five hundred, and other cities—Kansas City has almost ten thousand—then you know what it means when we say that we have an organization of over a half million in the field to-day.

Our check on this, I think, is another point of interest. We have a pamphlet prepared to help us increase the interest of the women. We estimated two months ago that we would need a quarter million of those pamphlets. Several weeks ago the quarter million was distributed and orders for more kept coming in, so that we now have more than five hundred thousand of those pamphlets sent only to active workers distributed out through the states to-night.

I think, however, important as the organization is, the underlying significance is that all the women are interested in this matter. How did this come to exist in exactly this way? How is it possible? There are two reasons for that. The first, the fundamental reason of the actual establishment of the committee, and the heart of the organization, the actual heart of the organization, was due to the fact of one woman's vision. On the 14th of May, 1917, the Secretary of the Treasury called together a small group of women for a representation of women in the Liberty Loan campaign, with the realization that women would naturally be large factors in the contribution to the loan. The Secretary was possessed of a very remarkable vision—and I think that we women have always found that it has always been the vision of a few men that has advanced the cause of women more than any other factor except woman's own desire and intention to progress, and have brought about the great successes that have attached to women's efforts. In order to make the work of the committee most effective, the Secretary established the committee, not as an auxiliary committee, dependent upon any man's organization, as Mrs. Richards said, in talking of how the work of women should be done—nor upon a group of men to determine things for the women or to do themselves for the women the things that they should do for themselves, but an actual group of women who should look after the interests of the women; and this work was established as a Bureau of the United States Treasury. We feel with pride that we are the only executive committee of women in the Government of the United States, and we feel that we should do everything that we can to justify the faith that the Secretary of the Treasury put in women.

The first act of the committee was to request the Secretary that Mrs. McAdoo be placed upon the committee. The second act was her election as chairman, an action thoroughly justi-

fied by the remarkable work that Mrs. McAdoo herself was too modest to tell about, or even to allow to be discussed!

The organization of the women which was accomplished, brought together by them as a bureau of the Treasury, extends over the forty-eight states, and also the District of Columbia and Alaska. This organization began with a state chairman in every state. The appointment was in some cases almost a command, but the result has been that no woman who has taken over the work has even once lapsed into inertia. There has not been a woman in the country in the Liberty Loan campaign who has fallen down on her job. It was hard work; there were difficulties; there were at times discouragements that seemed to be insuperable, but every one of them has been surmounted, and the results accomplished. Not that we have not troubles yet—there are plenty of them—but the spirit that carried the women through the first and second Liberty Loans is carrying them through the third loan to such a point that there are few communications that come into the committee to-day detailing any of these difficulties and discouragements.

I am glad to report that the great state of West Virginia, through its legislature this afternoon, voted to invest two hundred and fifty thousand of the state funds in Liberty Bonds through the Woman's Committee. That, some of you might say, is chivalry. We say it's hard work!

In the face of what has been done by women—for the woman's organization raised one billion dollars in the second Liberty Loan, and it is our hope and belief that we will raise more than a billion dollars in the third Liberty Loan—we feel that the advance of women into war finance is one of the most important, the most significant and most vital factors brought before the American people.

I have always known that both the men and the women of America could fight shoulder to shoulder, if the call ever came; and we know that this is a woman's war just as much as it is a man's war, for in any war where men fight for liberty and justice, women will be found helping; and this struggle is a woman's war, and we want to prove that we are doing our share, that we are standing shoulder to shoulder with the men who are here for the sake of the men who are over in the trenches, and that we are back of them to-night.

# WOMEN AT THE FRONT

By Kathleen Burke,

*Honorable Delegate to the United States and Canada of the Scottish Women's Hospitals for Home and Foreign Service*

It has been rightly said that we are passing at this time through a very anxious moment. Before I actually speak of the work of the women on the other side, I might express to you, if I dare, standing here as a daughter of Britain, what I believe to be the present state of mind of the women of Britain. Oh, this is an anxious moment! I do not disguise it, but I am not pessimistic. You bear in mind that Great Britain has always won her battles by not knowing when she was beaten, by going right on fighting! You keep that in mind and realize that we at the present time are standing there before that far-flung battle front, and although there may be some reverses, we shall never know whether we are beaten or not, and in the end only victory can come! And France will be standing there with us, and America, with her boys mightily strengthening that battle line, and though we all may waver, do not forget that we shall not break!

But we know there is a price to be paid, and while I may speak to you to-day in the speech of a woman carrying the red cross, and therefore a speech of tenderness, I beg of you to bear in mind, to spread the word throughout this land of America, that we women and you men and women, too, are going to demand a price for the lives that have been lost as a protection and an earnest of the future safety of the children of this and other free lands.

We all long for peace in the world. But at the present hour there is but one thought that actuates all of us, and that is that at the final end of the conflict there may be a lasting peace, and we mean to fight, and, if necessary, we will give every life and every dollar in England, in France and in America without once faltering in order that final and permanent victory and peace may be the portion of the free peoples of the earth.

And if there should be any suggestion of a premature peace,

we women in these lands that are striving for liberty would rise in revolution ourselves and carry forward the fight!

I have been asked to speak to you to-night on the title of "Women at the Front." And I can say to you that women have filled a real place of bravery and of service at the front.

I think an instance that will indicate to you the bravery and tenacity of the women at the front may be cited in the protest that was made by the women on the east shore of England who went to the Division Headquarters to protest against airplanes being sent back to protect them, because they were only too glad to take their share of danger, and to fulfill duties to their country without being looked after by the soldiery! Those women were just as cool and plucky and brave as the men and the nurses who went forth on the battlefield. Some of these splendid earnest souls were engaged in relief work in an ammunition factory that was three times blown up, and yet they worked right ahead, and would not stop. They could not be driven away. Their splendid example encouraged the girls who were employed in the factory to keep on with their work. As some of them expressed it, it really did not matter very much what happened to them, so each one did her duty! Their duty was performed every bit as well as was that of those women who were actually within sound of the cannon. Yet being only munition workers and relief workers in ammunition factories, they performed their duty without having much of the glory that comes to the heroes of the battlefields.

I have come to speak to you more of the work of the women performed directly on the battlefields, and gradually our women are being assigned to those advanced positions. You go first to those women who, under the various organizations, either of the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A. or the Red Cross, are working rather far behind the lines, because the most efficient work in the work of relief is almost always done at some distance from the scene of battle. Recently I saw your women of America receiving the refugees coming back by trainloads, and they were so thoughtful and careful of the comforts and also of the feelings of those who were wounded and sick. I saw them placing their hands to protect the toddling and the wounded soldiers on the trains, not allowing the very sensitive French that were coming back in their sickness and pain to realize that these women saw their weakness, but trying to stand behind them as a sort of protection, doing it in a sort of accidental way so the sensitive feelings of the French wounded were not hurt by a realization of weakness. And that same tact and tenderness guided them when they heard the faltering voices of those sick and

wounded soldiers trying to sing the Marseillaise, and they took up the refrain with the soldiers and sang it with the French people so that the strains of that noble hymn of the French republic rang out through the coaches in a really forceful and inspiring way. There are so many ways in which they can tactfully and tenderly stand behind and help and lend their strength to those who are sick and wounded and weak.

And in Italy I have seen the splendid work done by the women of the Red Cross. I did not see so much of the work there as in other countries, but I did see a great deal of the work among the refugees. I saw there the processions of old men weighted down by the burdens of years, and old women whose homes and loved ones had been taken away and who saw no future ahead but the grave. And there were mothers with little children tugging at their skirts and whimpering and crying, not understanding what all this trouble was about. These poor terrified souls were dragged through rain and snow and mud in the wake of the victorious German army. I have seen it time after time, thousands of miserable refugees flying before the approaching armies, carrying their pitiful little possessions with them. It has made my blood boil to see the homeless ones in such misery. But the American Red Cross, ever alive and alert to its duties, was there to welcome them, and the faces of those people so grief-stricken, and the eyes of those refugees so filled with tears, and their hearts so heavy because they had lost everything, would brighten and take on a new appearance of hope and joy because the ready and willing hands of these loving and tender workers of the Red Cross were outstretched to help them.

In the devastated villages of France you catch the real spirit of that wonderful country. There are some things in this life that have not been written in books nor uttered by speakers or orators, nor even thought of in their proper relation, and the wonderful brave spirit of France is one of these. It is something mightier even than patriotism, more splendid even than heroism. The spirit of the French people has made it possible for the nation to live one life and to die one death when the call came for such sacrifice. And you find that spirit throughout the manhood and the womanhood of France. The French women carry on their work of relief right under the guns that are thundering out their deadly bombardment, practically on the battle front, and yet managing to keep together the little business in which the husbands and fathers had been engaged and which they had built up. They are so anxious to send a few trinkets to the soldiers at the front, although perhaps these same women themselves are almost starving for lack of food.

In one French village an old lady was sitting under what little was left of her house, sitting there amid the ruins of her little home, under an improvised roof, selling butter and eggs to the French soldiers and others who might come by to purchase. Finally one lively lad happened along who felt the need of refreshment the moment he spied the little butter and egg establishment, and he fell to bargaining with the little old lady for some of her foodstuff. She told him the prices, and he complained that the price of the butter for his bread was too high. "Why," he said, "you might as well sell out what you have here anyhow, for these shells are flying around here thick and fast, and the next one that strikes your little shack will bring it tumbling to the ground!"

"That may be," replied the little old lady, "my house may come down, but the price of my butter will not!"

You will note that the woman of the present day has very little use for the man not at the present time doing his duty to the utmost. I was passing through a French village one day, and observed a peasant woman engaged in selling milk from door to door. I stopped a moment to chat with her. Her husband was standing behind her in a sort of apologetic way,—a poor little specimen of manhood; it did not appear as though he could fight if he tried. His wife looked at me despairingly, and said, "This is a terrible war. Think of it—think of it! They have taken away all my horses for the war that were of some use to me, and they have left me this (indicating her husband) that is no use at all!"

I do not want you to think for one moment that, with all her independence and bravery at the battle front, woman has lost her sense of appreciation. She feels the deepest gratitude and appreciation to the men who are dying for her and her loved ones. You will observe that particularly among the women of France.

There are some amusing incidents among the sordid realities of the front. One strict rule of the British army is that they cannot pilfer articles of food or of value in the towns where they are billeted. One particular regulation is that they cannot touch live stock unless actually attacked by it. Sometimes, however, this rule is winked at by the officers, and notably in one instance that I knew of where one of our boys furnished his messmates on three successive evenings with nice fried chicken, each time solemnly making a report to his officer in charge that he had been "attacked by the animal." But the next day the boys were doomed to run into a whole mess of trouble. It seems that the next time our soldier boy made his sortie on the chicken in the road, he was observed by the farmer's wife who owned the chicken. In other words, he was caught red-handed, and could

not with entire truthfulness allege that he was being viciously attacked by the animal when he appropriated it for dinner. The farmer's wife rushed to the scene of conflict, and was prepared to fight for her feathered property, but she wasn't quite quick enough. Necessity lent wings to that soldier boy's feet, and he got away with his prize. But the sequel was to follow. The next morning the boys in the camp saw that farmer's wife approaching, her wrath apparently not one whit abated by the time that had elapsed since the tragedy. There she was, coming over across the field towards them, and the bravest of the boys was deputed to go out and try to pacify her. Can you imagine his amazement and consternation when she rushed up to him, threw both arms around his neck and kissed him, then thrust a tiny piece of paper in his hand! As she looked at him for a moment she smiled, though the tears were streaming down her face. Then she turned in her funny wooden shoes and ran clattering away across the field. The soldier brought the paper she had left with him back to the camp where it was eagerly inspected by his mates. On one side was the notification,—"To Mr. Thomas Atkins, debtor, one chicken," and on the other side of the slip of paper was written,—"Account canceled. With the love and deepest gratitude of the women of this village." And underneath was this note: "Dear Tommy,—no matter what happens, we women of France will always be your debtors."

There, too, in those ruined villages some of the great deeds of heroism of the war may be recorded, though they would have to be written in letters of blood. In one village the Germans had come in, and one German was fired on by some hidden sniper from the village troops and killed. The German commander, with characteristic brutality, ordered the populace immediately to confess who had done the deed, stating that if the person who fired the shot did not immediately acknowledge the deed, every man in the village would be shot. He fixed a time limit of ten minutes. The villagers looked at one another, but no one seemed to know what to do. Five, six, seven, eight, nine minutes passed. The people were in agony. Suddenly a brave French woman stepped forward and confessed that it had been she who had shot the German officer. She was promptly stood up against a nearby wall and immediately shot. That night at dusk a man crept into the village in the torn uniform of a French soldier, and asked for safety. He had been hiding all day in the woods outside the village. It had been he who had "sniped" the German officer, and he explained how he had escaped outside the town, not knowing of the cruel edict of the German commander nor of the tragic sequel of the French woman's

bravery. It was only then that the people of that French village realized the act of sacrifice that had been done by their friend, the woman who had come forth voluntarily to acknowledge a deed she had not committed, offering her life that the lives of the others of that village might be spared!

Oh, I could relate story after story showing the spirit of sweet sacrifice and devotion on the part of the splendid and loyal women of France.

The wife of the mayor of a French town saw her husband brutally shot by the Germans. She saw the soldiers then start to pillage the town. Bravely she went to the German commander and asked him what he wanted of the village, and she would see that it was done. Then she went to the townspeople, calming them. Finally, at sundown the Germans rode out of the village. It was only then, some six hours after the death of the husband, that that brave woman thought once of herself or her great grief, and then that the danger to her townspeople was over, and she had done all she could for others, she fell weeping across the body of her man!

Deeds of heroism are numerous on the front among the women, but the greatest deeds of valor, perhaps the most striking deeds, have been on the front lines under the banner of the Red Cross. And it may seem strange that this statement should come from me who have been on the front myself—there is no place for women on the front. The only women on the front now are those placed there at the outbreak of war because of confusion. They had to take anything in those days that they could get. Those women have remained. In these days, however, there is no place for women on the fighting line. When a great retreat is ordered, the one idea of the men is to save the women, and they ought only to have their military duties to think of, and not have their minds diverted by the necessity of caring for others. Women are really not in their place on the front, because man has to protect them, and it is not man's duty now to protect woman; but he should devote his entire attention to his military duties and to winning the war. There are, however, a certain number there, a number of girls, who wear the same uniform that I do. Pray do not think of me as a member of the Scottish Women's Hospitals for Home and Foreign Service. There is no such thing at the present time as Scottish or Canadian. There is only one great Red Cross of all the world!

Many deeds of heroism have been performed by the daughters of France and of Britain, the same as by the daughters of America. These girls of ours went to Serbia in January, 1915, went out there without any knowledge of the language. It did

not matter that they did not; you do not have to know a language to understand when a man is suffering and needs help. Their wonderful sympathy was enough language to be understood between them. We tried at first to teach the nurses the language, but gave it up in the end as unwise. The first of the nurses that went out studied the language all the way. They reached their destination—the first unit to get into Serbia. The Serbians were so glad they had come, and sent a deputation headed by one of their generals to meet them. The girl who was supposed to speak the best Serbian was delegated to respond to his address of welcome, and sweetly she addressed the mighty general thus: "Does your wife know you are here?" She had gotten onto the wrong side of the page of her dictionary! Lots of explaining was necessary to rectify the mistake! They were there, after all, not to speak, but to work. They went within the sound of the guns and started to work. The Serbians gave them a hospital with five hundred men. One must realize that the Serbian wounded were many indeed. This is the third war they have been engaged in in five years. The hospitals were packed with sick and wounded soldiers. The various buildings that were available were used wherever possible. The Red Cross went to the German authorities and told them they could not nurse properly under those conditions. They were then given six more buildings. The girls whitewashed the buildings that could be used and cleaned them and carried the men on their backs, for there were no stretchers, and got them into these six buildings, and cleared their main hospital and commenced their work. They realized soon the task before them, and wired home for help, and a second, and third and fourth unit of the Scottish Women's Hospitals went to Serbia. Only one unit was able to work in the buildings. The other three units had to do their work under canvas. In the district where we were working the percentage of mortality was eighty per cent. In our jurisdiction we reduced that to twelve per cent. Our doctors sometimes would write home about these hospitals, that were like great white birds spreading their wings under the trees. It all sounded very nice on paper, very patriotic. But at the scene of the service it was different. The girls had to remain up all night working with their patients in many instances. Storms came up on occasions, and the girls had to leave their work and go and hang onto the ropes of the tents to prevent the whole thing from being blown away. Those girls worked right ahead, a number of them laying down their lives in the service. We lost seven women in Serbia in one hospital in one week! Five hundred women volunteered in fifteen days at home to take their

places! In order to realize what that means you must realize the conditions under which they worked. In the hospital at Nish were one thousand Serbians. The hospital itself was an old tobacco factory. No room was higher than twelve feet. Men died by dozens and hundreds. Other numbers of men sat huddled on benches waiting for comrades to die, that they might have their beds on which possibly themselves to die! Into that building those women went of their own free will, and two laid down their lives. They serve for the men and also for the women, because the Red Cross does not only take care of the men, but also of the women and children.

But I cannot take your time further. I have already talked too long. I could go on hour after hour telling incidents of the wonderful service of the Red Cross abroad and at home. May I just ask you all to take heart and to be of good cheer, as I close? For our lines will not break. I speak with the courage of my race. Of course one never knows to a certainty, but if by any chance that line of Britain and France and America there on the western front should break, our foes should remember that we are fighting with our backs to a wall, and that wall is the United States of America! You are coming on behind us, and we know it, and if the great Torch of Liberty, which our men are bearing aloft should for the moment fall, you are to pick up that Torch and that Cross of the battlefield and carry it over the fields of Flanders into Germany, that our dead may not have died in vain.

# WOMAN IN EDUCATION

By Mary C. C. Bradford,

*President of the National Education Association*

After the stirring and marvelously appealing picture that has just been given to us by this woman who has served the world so well, it may seem a rather quiet picture that I have to give you of the service which we believe must mean the second line of defense, if civilization is not to perish from the earth. I am tremendously proud to recall to you the fact that when the government of the United States, acting as the messenger of the spirit of America, sends out to the country its wishes, there is one organization that possesses the key that unlocks the front door of every home in the land, and that organization is the public school system of the United States. There are only about one hundred millions of us in this country. Seven hundred and fifty thousands out of the hundred millions are teachers; twenty-two million five hundred thousand are school children; and those twenty-two million five hundred thousand school children represent about eighteen million homes—practically every home in the land. And so when you reach the school, when you reach the teachers and the school children, you have reached the entire American people, because we all know that when a child goes home and makes the demand upon the parent for something to be done, because the teacher has stated that the nation wants it, we know then that it is absolutely sure that that wish of the spirit of America is to be carried out.

And so I come to-night to assure you that wherever I have been in this great country—and in the past two weeks I have been in five states and in ten cities—that wherever I have been I have found the school system absolutely willing to stand as a unit to be used in every way possible that the government wishes, absolutely willing to change itself and the curriculum, to revitalize its curriculum by letting the people, the children, know the relation of the things they study to life, to this great life and death struggle that at the present moment means so much.

A great message has just been given to us by the woman who has seen with her own eyes the horrors which we only feel sym-

pathetically in our hearts. That great message appealing to the American people to take the Torch of Liberty will reach, friends, the length and breadth of this land through the teaching profession, through the schools that are the second line of defense; and I can promise her in the name of the twenty-two million five hundred thousand school children to whom the future belongs, and the seven hundred and fifty thousand teachers, commissioned officers of the great army of soldiers of the common good, that this nation shall say with the voice of the teachers and the voice of the children, that it shall repeat the immortal utterance of the great Joffre,—"They shall not pass!" They cannot pass, friends, so long as the molders of the soul stuff of the nation are making that soul stuff in the likeness of a citizenship that can think straight, and is willing to work hard and can love mightily, so mightily that it is willing to change living into dying for the individual, if by so doing liberty may be preserved alive.

History gives us no record, friends, anywhere of any great work that ever was attempted where the sovereign population—numbers of them—are not called upon to lay down their bodies. Thank God, whether on the battlefield or at home in the struggle to make the battle of permanent avail, nobody can lay down his life, because life is eternal; but the laying down of the body has come—the summons has come to countless civilians in every great war that the world has ever seen,—into the stress and the excess of work and the intensity of living,—living plus, living plus!

If any of you know anything about school work, you will know that every department at Washington sends out wishes and desires and urgings to all the state departments of education. And my task is compiling just that information, and I thought I had a great big task before the war broke out in being the official mother of the two hundred and seventy-five thousand school children of my state, a big enough family to satisfy even Theodore Roosevelt himself, I think! And after the war broke out, and we had two million five hundred thousand, I considered my family to be very, very respectable in size! And although I had just about as much as one human being could do in trying to conduct the educational affairs of a great state, the fifth largest state in territory in the Union, where getting about is not so easy as one might think, after the war came, everything was raised to the nth power; and to-day there would be requests for this, and to-morrow requests for that; but, thank Heaven, I haven't yet had time nor inclination to say "No" to whatever the spirit of America has wanted me to do through the government

at Washington. And friends have said to me, when the war had been on three or four months, "You cannot keep this up! You are going to kill yourself! And you know that was just like a bucket of ice water thrown all over me, and I wondered and faced it. And then I asked myself this, "In what way are you better, in what way are you more important than the boys over there, and some of them certainly will not come back, and if in the effort to say 'Yes, yes, yes' to the spirit of America, you should fall, a good soldier of the army of the common good, of the teaching profession of the United States,—if you should fall?" And this was my answer, friends, to myself: "What of it? What of it?" If I were to die to-morrow saying "Yes" to any appeal of the spirit of America, it wouldn't matter. People pass, friends, but principles endure! And so because I represent the great army of soldiers of the common good, into whose keeping is given the destiny of the citizenry of this nation to-morrow; because I represent those who must come true, if it is ever to come true in fullness and in splendor, the mighty dream thrown upon the screen of history by the God of Nations, the great dream of a nation that could exemplify in its institutions human brotherhood, because that is the task of the teaching force of America, to make the experiment of the human brotherhood in the democratic republic of the United States come true, fulfill a dream of the God of Nations. Because of that I assure you that in every single one of those eighteen millions of homes where the twenty-two million five hundred thousand children live, over the destinies of whom the seven hundred and fifty thousand teachers preside, you have loyal souls, you have souls in love with the loveliness of the vision of freedom, you have souls who have so dominated their daily living that they are trying to think absolutely straight in the present great national crisis, that they are willing to work incessantly for the sake of this victory that must be snatched from under the shadow of autocracy in order that the Paradise of Peace may be regained; and I assure you that that mighty army is capable of the great love for the nation and the world that will make sacrifice seem easy and death but the resurrection into the fullest and finest realities of life.

I assure you that the teaching force of the United States stands ready with every teacher and every school child to do everything that the nation wants.

I believe I was put on to talk to you about woman in education, and I have been talking about the school system. Of course, it is true that the great majority of teachers are women; it is true that the elementary school teacher, of whom ninety-nine per cent. are women, are the greatest number—form the

greatest body of this teaching profession! And yet I never can think of women in education; I can just think of human beings making other human beings in the likeness of the good citizen.

Friends, may I tell you the kind of thing that I believe education to mean? Because education and an educated leadership is to be needed in the world now as it never was before. If you want to see what a suddenly enfranchised nation, a suddenly freed nation, without education is, just look at Russia. Night before last I heard Count Tolstoi speak in Pittsburgh, and he said that the number of illiterates in his nation was appallingly large. Now we must have a better type of education than we have ever had before. Not only the soldiers are making the world safe for democracy; we people at home are making the world safe for democracy,—but the teacher must keep it safe for democracy, because only through people who can think straight and are willing to work hard and love mightily can real democracy remain upon the earth; and I insist that every child has a right to a perfectly trained body, that trained body in instant, obedient and efficient service of the perfectly trained mind; and the perfectly trained mind in instant, obedient and efficient service of the something in here,—and I do not care what you call it; you may call it the soul, you may call it the moral sense, you may call it the conscience, and you may call it the higher self. I like to call it the spark of the most High God that baptizes the body of each human being who comes into the world and makes of it the Temple of the Holy Ghost; and none who has less than this trained body and this trained mind, obeying instantly the spiritual dictum, can be called an educated human being; and this is the kind of education we must have after the war!

Education must be linked to life as it never has been before. Education is the interpretation of life,—all life,—in terms of truth, beauty, freedom, efficiency and service, and I like to spell the last word with four letters, L-o-v-e! And when we have education like that we shall in time have government that will mean the science and art of living together in organized communities so that righteousness may prevail; and then we shall have real civilization,—the expression in human institutions of the highest ideal of all the people.

In a republic, friends, you cannot get anything out in the nation that you do not first put into the schools. Germany's false educational system for fifty-seven years has resulted in the present war, and we must throw down the gauntlet educationally as well as commercially and say that true American education shall save the world, as German education has threatened to

ruin it. And so it is a great and a splendid task that is before us now.

In closing, may I give you, because it gives me a chance to say something about women in education,—may I give you my favorite legend? It is very, very old. It is taken from the Sanskrit, and it runs somewhat in this wise:

"When the Lord Buddha was about to lay down his life,—his body,—he called his disciples about him and he taught them many things. And they asked him, saying, 'Lord, wilt thou ever come again to earth?' And the wise one answered, 'I shall come again to earth after many ages.' And his disciples said unto him again, 'Oh, wise one, when thou comest again to earth after many ages, where wilt thou come again to earth?' And the wise one answered them yet again, saying, 'When after many ages I come again to earth I shall come to an undiscovered country lying across unknown seas.' And still they pressed him, saying, 'Oh, wise one, when thou comest again to the earth after many ages to that undiscovered country lying across unknown seas, how wilt thou come again to earth?' And the Lord Buddha answered them, saying, 'When, after many ages, I shall come again to earth, to that undiscovered country lying across unknown seas, I shall come in the form of many women, and where they are there shall righteousness dwell. And when they speak there shall the spirit of wisdom make itself heard, and where their shadow shall fall shall home be, and under their footsteps shall come the roses of life. So shall I come again to earth after many ages to that undiscovered country lying across unknown seas!'" And, friends, I always like to think that the American woman teacher expresses the coming again to earth of the Wise One with his gentleness and his wisdom and his loving kindness, and his council and his love. And so I ask you to believe that not only the American woman teacher, but that the whole American public school system stands to-day the second line of defense, reaching every home in the land, molding each child in the likeness of the ideal citizenship, so that the mighty dream of the God of Nations of a free country, a happy country, an industrially free country, a country full of loving kindness, may come to earth, and that by and by, when we shall have regained the paradise of peace, snatched from under the shadow of sorrows, that a great world league shall come, where truth and righteousness and freedom shall translate themselves into love, and the kingdoms of this world shall have become the kingdoms of the Lord of love!

## MOTHER

By Mrs. Frederick Schoff,

*President of the National Congress of Mothers and of the Parent-Teachers Association*

It is just as a plain mother that I do speak to you, because I have had seven children of my own, because some of them are in the service to-day, and because I have had children of this whole country under my observation and care for nearly fifteen years.

The first thought of the mothers of this country to-day is to help win this war, not only by sending their sons, but by doing their full part in every way, by doing everything that the government asks us to do; and all through our country the mothers are enlisted. I often say I have enlisted for the war just as much as my son has enlisted, and am subject to the call and the needs that come.

The Congress of Mothers,—it has covered this country; it has organized the mothers of this country in ways that are far-reaching. Twenty-one years of service lies behind, and much of the great interest in children has come from the work that has been done by the Congress, to give mothers a better opportunity to understand how to bring up their children.

Now, mothers are thinking to-day in ways that they never thought before. Once mothers were interested just in their own homes, and did not think of a duty beyond that, but God put motherhood into a woman's heart, and her work for life, and her greatest work, is mothering the children of the world.

And mothers are thinking in world terms, in national terms, to-day; they are adapting their work to world conditions. They know perfectly well that children come into the world innocent, and pure, and with opportunities for good.

We know about the German children, too, and we know that it was that dreadful system of education that has been put upon Germany for generations that has made Germany what it is to-day; that hateful theory that "might makes right"; that we do not regard others' possessions at all, but that we can take whatever we choose if we have the power to do it. Now, it is that

idea, and that system of education, that has brought about this world war, and we women know it, we mothers know it; and we believe that what a nation is giving in education is of vital importance to that nation, and that we must take our lesson from Germany, and see and know as a nation what is being given.

Now, in twenty-two million homes in this country seven-eighths of the education of the people is being conducted and the schools have one-eighth of the education to give. Up to this time the government of the United States, until 1913, when the Congress of Mothers requested the Bureau of Education to put in a Home Education Division that would help the mothers of this country to know how to bring up their children,—until then parents were not recognized in any nation as educators. We sometimes think that China is behind the world; but when we held our last conference here, just before the war, in 1915, the Chinese Government sent a delegate to our convention,—the government itself,—and asked me, under the auspices of the government of China, to come out there and organize the mothers of China! Now, that was a recognition of what motherhood means from a nation that we think is far behind. But here in our country this Home Education Division has been put into our National Bureau of Education.

Do you know that the educational part of our work in this government is the most poorly supported part that there is in the country? And yet it underlies the whole future of this country! You can make what you will of these children, if you will give the parents as well as the teachers all that they need in this way, and that is one of the things that is the most important for us to consider in the future. It is a national question—what kind of ideals our country is going to have.

Now, what do we want to instill in the homes? We certainly want to teach respect for the rights of others. A nation whose young respect the rights of others will not try to overpower or to take from another nation what does not belong to it; and it is the making of the individual unit that will make the nation what it should be.

So I believe that every nation should take up this educational work, and should see that it is put on such a basis that every home in this land will have the light that is needed. Child nature is the greatest science in the world. We have doubled, trebled, quadrupled the output of the land by teaching the farmers how best to plant their crops, and how to rotate their crops, and how to conserve the soil. If we will develop that divine spark of knowledge, and guide it in the way it should be guided, we shall have doubled and trebled and quadrupled

the knowledge and the efficiency of our children and of our men and women of the future.

I am not speaking from theory. For eight years I have had the responsibility in a big city of raising the money to pay probationary officers' salaries, and ten thousand of the young persons of the city under arrest passed under my observation in that time, and I tell you it is a reflection on our civilization that they are there. We are responsible. They are not. They were not there from any fault of their own.

Another thing is this, friends, the most of the occupants of prisons are men, and it is a reflection on us as mothers, fathers and teachers if we are not reaching the boys as we ought to because they are just as good as the girls, and we all know it!

And there we have been studying these questions in economic and social ways, and in international ways. We have been seeing the relation of the home to these persons, and we realize that in the home lies the future of the world, and that we have there to do the fundamental work of the world.

The Lord has been giving the women of this world, without their knowledge, great possibilities of service. Over twenty years ago in this country a few women got together and organized the National Council of Women, made up of all organizations of women in this country. After that, twenty-seven nations organized groups of women. And that indicates the possibility for reconstruction of the world, a machine made ready to our needs; and even now with all the energy, and with all the patriotism, we are looking forward and thinking what to do after the war for reconstruction.

Lydia Borden is the president of the International Council of Women, and she has been in this country for two years planning with American women what can be done afterwards. Eight million women are represented in the Council of Women in this country, organized into thirty national organizations, and I have been honored to be chosen chairman of the Child Welfare Department, and it is my privilege and duty to recommend work for those eight million women. And after the war is over, we will take up the question, and we will organize the mothers, and we will enlist the aid of the various bureaus, and get every nation to put into its Bureau of Education a Home Education Division that will take in the parents, and we will get the great statesmen, the great people who knew what the cause of this war was, to try to put into every nation, certainly all the allied nations, the education that will prevent a possibility of it afterward.

Now, to tell you just a little of the war service of the

mothers in this country: we enlisted last April almost as soon as war was declared, before the Commission on Training Camp Activities was formed. My son was on the border, and many of our men were down in Texas, and I visited all of the camps there in Texas, and I saw that the women of this country were asleep to their duty, and that there was a need that was not filled; that in every camp the government had done everything it could hygienically, that it could not do better than it was doing; but I found that feeling that an enlisted man who was not an officer was just a little beneath them, not quite good enough for them to have anything to do with; that the cities were doing absolutely nothing for the one hundred and fifty thousand men camped around them, and that a thousand bad women were there to tempt them, that liquor was all around them, and that the good women were not counteracting these influences by organizing themselves.

I was authorized to form an army and navy camp in connection with every camp in this country. We began this work in April. We appointed a national chairman, and we have formed various necessary committees, and it has meant a great deal to the boys to have that touch of home, home influence and the hospitality of mothers extended to them. It does not hurt us to speak to any man, and we say that any man that offers his life for his country is worthy of our respect! We do not care from what home he comes, we can love him. Do you know, friends, in the past we women have been blind to all these things; we must go and see them or we do not know the conditions. It is an abnormal condition when men can only meet the wrong kind of women. These boys want the good things. I am so proud of them. I have met thousands of them, and eighty per cent. of those boys want the good things.

Down in Anniston, Alabama, we formed a committee, and one of our congress women wrote to me and said, "Oh, we were so frightened when we knew a camp would be installed here. We thought wreck and ruin would follow it." But she said, "These boys from the North have united the hearts and hands of the North and South. We have found none but gentlemen among them, and we honor the lads in khaki."

There was some design, I think, in President Wilson's transferring the North to the South and vice versa. It has united us and made us understand each other, and it has been a splendid and a good thing.

And I want to say a word, too, about our men who are in office in Washington. I never speak without saying this. They have won the gratitude of the motherhood of this country by

taking the moral stand they have in regard to the camps. We found the conditions before, but we had not found them very long before the government found them; and they would not allow liquor near the camps, and they put a clean zone around the camps, and took liquor out of the Navy, and did all those things that made it so much better and easier for the men, and so much better for the mothers and everybody concerned; and I believe we are the first nation that has put that strong moral influence about the camps; and so we all feel so grateful to the President and to Secretary Baker and Secretary Daniels for all that has been done in that way.

Now, I want to tell you about what we have done. Philadelphia is the birthplace of the nation, and it was the right place to begin the movement that would give the boys a little of the home touch. And so just four of us held a meeting, and we asked the mothers of enlisted men to come. We had the best women of the city present. We did not invite them. We had the notice in the papers, and they came. Well, to-day we have the first United Service Club in America. That club was founded as a result of that meeting. We have had over one hundred thousand boys use it. We have had over twenty-five thousand sleep in the beds that we have. Do you know, friends, that in that city of Philadelphia, when this war began, there were twelve thousand boys down in the Navy Yard there? There are one thousand boys off duty every night, exposed to the dangers of the tenderloin district, boys like yours and mine. And they did not know it was a bad neighborhood; and the people of Philadelphia did not know those boys were there.

And we provided a place where, for thirty-five cents a night, they can get a bed with clean sheets every night, and a shower bath, and a cafeteria, and reading rooms, and writing rooms for the enlisted men. And the officers of the Navy said, "Ladies, spare your efforts. It is not needed. The Navy is doing all that is necessary. You need not do it." And the Y. M. C. A. said, "You will never get the boys to go so far." Why, they crowd that place; they sleep on the floor! We opened another in Baltimore, and it has had to double its capacity, and the boys are just crowding in there, and the women are there to greet them and give them the little mothering that they may need. Do these boys want us to talk to them? No, they pour their hearts out to us. One of the boys told me, "I am ordered to France. I was just going back to say 'good-by' to my mother when this order was given." It was a very unhappy experience. The young man also said, "The girl I have been engaged to for two years died last month"—and so

on. And I did not know this young man. He opened his heart, and that is the way the boys do; and they are happier because they can tell some mother about their troubles and can talk about the home folks. We are going to open one of these clubs in Washington at 134 Massachusetts Avenue, and our national Congress is going to help us.

Now, friends, I want to tell you that the War Community Service says our Philadelphia club is the model club in the country. We did not ask a penny of anybody. We have asked no money from anybody for the Baltimore club, but knowing they were giving to others, I said, if you want to help us in Washington we will be very glad to have such assistance as you can give us. A sub committee of the War Community Service is going to finance our house that we are going to erect here, and leave us there to manage it.

Now, that is the coöperation that we are getting, and we are sending our boys off happier and better.

And just one thing more I do want to tell you, friends, and that is the need of talking to the mothers of this country about the causes of this war. We knew that there were twenty-five thousand mothers of enlisted men in Philadelphia, and with the coöperation of the police every single week those mothers have received invitations to our club, and we talk to them and tell them why Mr. Hoover wants them to do thus and so, why the Liberty Loan should be raised—and if you could see those women! One day there were women speaking five different languages that came there with their various peculiar customs and their poverty and their sorrow, and looking so sad; and a lot of men came in with them, and the doorkeeper was going to turn them away. He said, "This is a mothers' meeting, and the fathers are not supposed to be admitted to-day." But the men replied, "Our wives do not speak English, and they want us to interpret for them what is said." So we permitted the husbands and fathers to remain, and I never spoke to an audience that listened with such rapt attention as those men did, and those women came at every opportunity afterwards. They were sad-hearted and worried because their sons were in the army, but when they went away from our instruction they would say, "We wish we had more to give!"

And now that is the work of Americanization that needs to be done, and that is the work that the Mothers Congress is trying to do, to get at these mothers of enlisted men, the mothers that do not understand, that do not read the papers, these foreign mothers that cannot see why their sons should be called into the service. That is the work we are trying to do.

And, then, after this war is over, we shall not prevent future wars unless we put into people the inspiration that God is above us, that He is ruling the universe, that His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom and that it endures from generation to generation, and that we are here just for a little while to do our part; and as my own son says, "Mother, we are going to die some time; what matters if it is a few days or months or years earlier, if we are dying in a great big cause?" And isn't that what all of the boys are saying to-day? We women to-day are not willing to stand, as the mothers of the past, and be protected. We are in it just as much as the men. We must work. We can not stop. We must go on. The tragedy is too great.

So that is the message that I have to bring to you, that the mothers of this country are united, and that the people of this country are united, and that we are going to do our part in this greatest battle for morality—greater than the Crusades, and that God must help us to win, because we are not dictating to Him, but we are looking to Him to guide us. This is the greatest war for morality, for the great spiritual influences of life, that has ever been fought, and it did not come to us by our seeking.

There is one thing I must say before I stop, and that is that Germany, in its final propaganda against Christianity and morality, has asked the clergymen of that country to remove the moral shackles of the women, in order that children may be bred to be soldiers in the future, children of the state; and this proposition has brought into revolt the womanhood of this nation, and will bring into union with them the women of every nation, because that is undermining the civilization of the world, and because the manhood and the womanhood of the nation will not stand for that sort of thing. It is worse than all the other fearful things they have done, and that is one of the battles that the women of the world, the good women of the world, just the same as the good men and just as many of them, are fighting for. And we stand together, fathers, mothers, teachers—all of us. And we will stand with our government; we are proud of our government; we have not any criticism to offer.

# IV: SOME AGENCIES WORKING TO WIN THE WAR

# IV: SOME AGENCIES WORKING TO WIN THE WAR

## THE FUNCTION OF AMERICAN LABOR IN WAR TIME

By Samuel Gompers,

*President of the American Federation of Labor*

I was a bit perturbed when I received an invitation to come here and lecture you lecturers! It seemed like "carrying coals to Newcastle." And then, when the subject was assigned me—"The Function of American Labor in War Time," I could scarcely find a thought, or rather, more than one thought, to express the whole subject—one sentence: The function of labor in war is to function!

I think that epitomizes the whole subject, and whatever frills or furbelows may be woven to surround it are not going to make the matter at all clearer. The question as it appeals to me suggests the thought that there is in the minds of some the suspicion that labor is not functioning in the war, and therefore it is necessary that some one should say something as to whether it does or not.

With us there have been no false notions from the beginning of the European war. Those who were abreast of the times and had something like an understanding of events national and international, those who had undertaken to learn, either at first hand or otherwise, if I may so dignify it, the philosophy underlying the German mind and the German activity, knew then that the aim of German thought was to dominate the world.

Now, no one could find fault with the effort of the German people to endeavor to control by intellectual force, by the power of brain, science and understanding, in all the arts, in industry, and in commerce. It is to the great credit of the people of at least our own country that we were appreciative of the great intellectual development of the people of Germany. Somehow or other there were a few of us among the men of labor who

understood not merely the exercise of this great power and influence which Germans and Germany held over the world, but that there was created a philosophy of economics and sociology that undertook to blunt the minds of the people of the whole world.

Whether designedly or not no one can now say, but truth requires it to be stated that the philosophy of the Marxian socialism was nothing more nor less than the attempt of German autocratic power from above to control the individuality of the people. It was and is in economics and sociology the reflex of the imperial form of government of Germany, presumably based upon the people, but not with the initiative of the people to control the government, but for the government to control the people.

For years and years a propaganda was carried on in every country on the face of the globe. Among the last to be impregnated with that virus were England and the United States. There was not an avenue through which the expression of the labor movement of America could percolate into the minds of the German people or the people of the other continental countries.

The socialist parties of Germany did not create the socialist parties in these other European countries or in the United States; the German socialists' propaganda established German branches in these other countries and in the United States! They published their newspapers, particularly in the German language; when they attempted to establish an English paper for years and years they did not succeed, and one or two of those papers now existing subsist upon the subsidies and support of the German socialist press.

The labor movement of America was interpreted and written about in correspondence to the European countries, particularly through Germany, by the agents of the German socialists, and never was there an effort made by the American labor movement to secure some improvement in the condition of the workers but what every feature of it and every phase of it was belittled and perverted in the reports to the socialist press, and so communicated to the readers of the socialist press in Germany and other European continental countries. Our movement was decried, our achievements belittled, our aims ridiculed, and our men abused, insulted and misrepresented. Indeed, so much and so far did this propaganda go that I am going to say something to you lecturers that may be of interest to you, namely, that consciously or unconsciously the great trusts in the United States were playing into the hands of that game! First, the shipping

companies and the trusts were in cahoots to keep a channel wide open between several of the southern European countries and the ports of the United States; and the condition of the people brought here, lured here, was but little better, if as good, as it was in their own country. They had less freedom here for they were under the dominating eye of the superintendent, foreman, or sub-foreman, or some sub-stratum of an officer! They had had industrial serfdom when they had perhaps just a little bit of a farm with the free air and the sunshine in their old homes. But they were paid miserably here, and they had to pay tribute in advance to some petty foreman in order to get a job, and it was to the foreman's financial advantage to see that the turn-over was greater than necessary in order that he might get his tribute.

But quite in addition to this, newspapers, daily and weekly, were encouraged to be issued and printed in the languages of their respective countries; and then in those newspapers, subsidized by the shipping companies and by the trusts, could be preached all the radicalism, so called, that they pleased. They could advocate socialism, anarchism, or any other speculative philosophy, so long as they roundly lambasted the American labor movement and its officers. For these corporations knew that so long as they could arouse bitterness and antagonism and prejudice against the representatives of the American labor movement, so long as they could call into question our motives and our honesty, they knew very well that they had the men under their own power. They would encourage these newspapers to preach the gospel of the "sweet by and by" if they could only prevent the workers from realizing that they were living in the bitter "now and now"; and hence the great difficulty which we experienced in trying to reach the minds and to obtain the confidence of these workers, the confidence and the respect to which we were justly entitled.

And this socialist press in the German and the other foreign languages was the means to propagate this philosophy of misery, to propagate the thought that internationalism based upon the idea that German power, German militarism, would be maintained for the purpose of preventing international war, while at the same time preaching the doctrine to the peoples of the other countries of the world that they need not fear Germany or German military power. "What you and your countries should do is to preach the gospel of internationalism, anti-militarism and anti-patriotism; we will see that the peace of the world shall be maintained," declared German socialists and socialist philosophers and socialist philosophy. And the people of the countries of the world outside of Germany believed in them. That

propaganda had gone on for more than forty years. We believed it; we were all of us lulled into a fancied security, and then they undertook to preach the gospel of the immediate recognition of the universality of the brotherhood of man, and so our peoples and our countries were comparatively easy prey, at least supposedly so, in the minds of German efficiency and German militarism and German imperialism, and we were unprepared—had not dared to expect—to dream that such a conflagration would have set the world afire.

There is one thing upon which Germany did not count. She believed that after all there is only one efficient method for the conduct of any of the affairs of life, and that method autocracy—power from the top to direct, and all others obediently to perform. There is one thing that this philosophy holds out of the accounting—that once the conscience and the hearts of a free democratic people are touched, there arises a unity of spirit and action, which autocratic domination and efficiency cannot withstand, and before which it must quail. And that is what has come.

The men of organized labor in America were called into a special session through their duly constituted representatives on March 12, 1917, or about a month before the United States formally entered into the struggle, and at that conference was discussed the attitude which the American labor movement should maintain, whether in peace or in war. I am going to ask you to permit me to read two or three paragraphs from a declaration adopted by that conference by unanimous vote. I should say that there were present 146 officers of national trade unions of America. The paragraphs that I desire to read are as follows:

"The present war discloses the struggle between the institutions of democracy and those of autocracy. As a nation we should profit from the experiences of other nations. Democracy can not be established by patches upon an autocratic system. The foundations of civilized intercourse between individuals must be organized upon principles of democracy and scientific principles of human welfare. Then a national structure can be perfected in harmony with humanitarian idealism—a structure that will stand the tests of the necessities of peace or war.

"We, the officers of the National and International Trade Unions of America, in national conference assembled, in the capital of our nation, hereby pledge ourselves in peace or in war, in stress or in storm, to stand unreservedly by the standards of liberty and the safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our Republic.

"In this solemn hour of our nation's life, it is our earnest hope that our Republic may be safeguarded in its unswerving desire for peace, that our people may be spared the horrors and the burdens of war, that they may have the opportunity to cultivate and develop the arts of peace, human brotherhood and a higher civilization.

"But, despite all our endeavors and hopes, should our country be drawn into the maelstrom of the European conflict, we, with these ideals of liberty and justice herein declared, as the indispensable basis for national policies, offer our services to our country in every field of activity to defend, safeguard and preserve the Republic of the United States of America against its enemies whomsoever they may be, and we call upon our fellow workers and fellow citizens in the holy name of Labor, Justice, Freedom and Humanity to devotedly and patriotically give like service."

It is the common understanding of all who know that it was the American Federation of Labor that for more than thirty-five years has given its whole-hearted effort in supporting the principles of freedom and democracy as against socialism and slavery and despotism; it was the American Federation of Labor which from the beginning of this international war had the perception as well as it had the courage to declare its position in unmistakable terms, and that now, in the crisis in which we have flung ourselves, or rather, more truly speaking, into which we have been dragged, the American labor movement is true to its history, true to the traditions of labor, true to the long struggle of the masses, groping in the beginning and yet groping and struggling and sacrificing in order that some of the burdens placed upon the backs of the toilers shall be relieved, until in our time the whole concept has been changed. The worker is no longer regarded, or would permit himself to be regarded, as typified by the "Man with the Hoe"; not with bent back or receding forehead—no, not with bent back and receding forehead, but in the full stature of manhood, equal with all people of our country. And quite apart from our loyalty to our republic and the great cause in which it is engaged, this very difference of concept is to be fought out, whether it shall be that the workers shall be driven back into the centuries of darkness and misery and almost despair, with back bent under the lash, and perhaps the receding forehead coming with generations, or whether the toilers of the world shall be, in addition to producers, men, with living hopes and aspirations for a higher and a better day.

We have from the beginning of the war performed our duty

whole-heartedly, without causing any reflections or making any insinuations against those in other walks of life. I think if these had had less care for private profiteering and more care for our country and our people and our cause, there would be less inconsistency. Only a few weeks ago, or rather about two months ago, there were about twenty-five hundred men who had struck work. It was regrettable. It was quickly adjusted, and the officers of the organization exerted all the influence and power that they could, in order that the men would return to work. And they did, and the press of the country just lambasted the workers of America as though they had all been slackers and cowards and traitors, when as a matter of fact there were more than five millions of American workers engaged in war work, and there was not a word of commendation as to their service.

Through the instrumentality of our movement, the American Federation of Labor, we have pressed home upon the government of the United States, as we have in the affairs of industry and commerce and transportation, this concept—that there isn't anything in all the activities of our country, local, state, national, or international, in which the human does not enter and that the human side must be considered in every question in which our people and our country are affected and that hence it is necessary to have representation of the workers in every agency of government and of industry. We have had larger representation and recognition of this character within this past year—beginning four years ago, but within the last year—than at any time in the history of our country, or perhaps of the whole world. The Council of National Defense, the Advisory Commission, the War Industries Board, the Shipping Board, the Wage Adjustment Board, in all of them are representatives of labor to help determine the conditions and the terms, and wages, and hours of labor.

The Committee on Labor of the Council of National Defense, with its various sub-committees, has concerned itself with the question of labor standards and hours of labor and wages, sanitary conditions and housing. It was our committee which first brought last year to the attention of the Council of National Defense, and of this country, the terrific condition in which we were all placed by reason of the fact that the workers had no place where they could rest, where they could sleep, where they could go after their hard day's work was completed, and that if they did not have a place to sleep they would be unfit and unwilling to work, and wouldn't work and couldn't work.

The agreements entered into between the representatives of the Government of the United States, in the various departments,

and the organizations of the workers, have been made public generally. There was a committee of five representing the employers, appointed by the employers associations; a committee of five of workmen appointed by the president of the American Federation of Labor; each of these two groups selecting a representative of the general public as their legal advisor. The employers' group selected Mr. William H. Taft, and the workers' group selected Mr. Frank P. Walsh. And an agreement has been reached between these two bodies based on fundamental principles of employment and relationship between employer and employee; and a permanent board appointed by the President of the United States. That great leader of thought, and speech, and democracy has issued a proclamation putting the agreement into effect as a war measure and during the period of the war.

I may say that I want to bring this thought to your attention, for I have learned it since my entrance into this hall, that there is an effort being made with regard to one of the bills now before Congress to make it unlawful, and stigmatizing it as criminal, punishable with high fines and long terms of imprisonment, for any workman to engage in a strike. May I say this—I think that I have indicated clearly and can show more fully and conclusively that the aim and effort of American workers is to continue work without interruption except as may be necessary for rest and recuperation. But I say this to all whom it may concern, that nothing will do more to create resentment than to make it unlawful for men to stop work. Thus far we have done wonderfully well. Thus far there has been no serious interruption of industry or commerce or transportation. Thus far the good, the influences of the representative men and women in the labor movement of our country have been effective, but once take away the voluntary influence which we may be enabled to exert, and to say that we have no power, no influence of a voluntary character, and you have taken away every instrument which we have been enabled to employ in order to gain the good will and the voluntary continued service of the workers of America.

And let me add this: No one has done more than the representatives of the American labor movement to prevent the propaganda of Germanism from succeeding in interrupting the industries of our country. Even in some instances the men have been urged, where a cessation of work would have been justifiable under ordinary circumstances, to be patient and again be patient, even to the straining point, in order that production may not be interrupted. I say this, as I have on previous occasions declared, that it is possible that you may make a stoppage of

work, a strike, unlawful, but you are not going to stop men from striking, you will make men law-breakers in addition to strikers! Why is it necessary for the enactment of such a law? If all the voluntary agencies had proven a failure; if there were no prospect of even greater continued production by reason of the last agreement which had been reached and to which I have just referred, why, then there may be even some excuse, but to-day there is absolutely none, and I give the warning of a patriotic American citizen to our Congress not to commit the folly of enacting such a law!

I want to say something now wholly out of the order of reasoning and of sequence, but I cannot help but bring this to your attention. We have seen what has transpired in Russia, within these past few months. No lover of liberty or lover of mankind can look upon that scene, even in the far distance, in his imagination or in his reading, without a feeling of great regret and passion. Whether the people of Russia come back in this war or not, one thing is assured, out of a spirit of humanitarianism we must help the people as best we can. And we will try to do it. If there had been in Russia a labor movement such as we have in the United States of America, that Bolsheviki movement would never had landed into power; if we hadn't a labor movement in America, with all the elements making up America and all the propaganda that has been going on, I haven't the slightest hesitancy in saying that my best judgment is that we would have had the Bolsheviki right in the United States! I do not know that we are quite so free from that now!

There is another point that I want to make, and then I shall leave you free to hear some of the others who are scheduled to address you and who I am sure will interest you as well as entertain you.

As one of the evidences of this tremendous progress that has been made by the American labor movement, I desire to call your attention to the years of agitation and educational campaigns conducted in what was popularly known as the abolition of government by injunction. Neither you nor I have time to enter into a discussion of this subject. Those who are sufficiently interested to have the detailed information can have some of it which the American Federation of Labor can in part help to give you. But as the result of this agitation and campaigns of education and sacrifice of men who were willing to suffer for the right, we have had enacted upon the statute books of the United States a law, commonly known as the Clayton Anti-trust law. A sentence in that law reads as follows: "That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce." That declara-

tion in itself is the most far reaching of any ever made by any authoritative government of any country of the whole world. The labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce! If that declaration had been in existence prior to our Civil War, slavery would have been abolished without that war, for the slave's labor was the labor of a human being and was regarded as a commodity and an article of commerce. That declaration, now the law of our land, takes the human being, the men, the women, the children, out of the class which characterizes them and their labor power as commodities, inanimate, such as this glass, this table, the chandelier, or a side of beef, or a pound of pork. It constitutes a recognition of the human side of the masses of our people, the workers before the law—the physical, legal, industrial, political and social qualities of all the citizens of America.

We are giving service to our country; we propose to give service. We shall not permit ourselves during this war, or at any time thereafter, to be lulled into any false paradise. The propaganda of offensiveness, the propaganda of subtlety, the propaganda to divert us from our humane, natural and patriotic and logical course, the effort to divert us from this course will fail, no matter by whom undertaken. We are going to stand by the fundamental principles of our republic. We are glad to declare that we are behind the government, the country, our republic, our President, and our Allies, to fight this struggle to the finish, and until democracy and freedom and justice shall be enthroned throughout the world.

# MAINTENANCE OF AMERICAN STANDARDS OF LABOR

By Frank Morrison,

*Secretary of the American Federation of Labor*

With our country engaged in a war that it may maintain the heritage of its forefathers, organized labor takes its stand with every other American institution and individual.

While there may be some small unpatriotic influences in this country, I can not but believe that this influence will become totally negative as the war progresses and our countrymen better understand the issues involved.

Man is too prone to overlook the vital for the superficial. He is liable, for instance, to be attracted by elements of incompetency, of corruption, that are more or less inseparable from war, and ignore the stupendous things our country has accomplished since April 6 last.

Other nations may question our right to the claim that America has placed two million under arms, built cantonments and camps, and placed itself on a military basis quicker than any other people imbued with the doctrine of peace.

But no nation in all history can point to the declaration of its authorized spokesman and show where he has so repeatedly emphasized the views of his fellow countrymen that they war for peace and without selfish aim.

Our President has revolutionized international statesmanship and diplomacy, and our Allies now see the folly of former practices that made this world an armed camp.

Our President has touched the fountain head of the trouble—Militarism. The social cancer must be removed lest it reaches the vitals of every free people.

I believe it is important that our countrymen keep this thought in mind. It should be emphasized at every opportunity. Not that we should ignore wrongs in our land, not that we should submit to injustices by small groups that would exploit their country while others give to their country.

If we are to win this war quickly each of us must consider it our duty to urge our fellow citizens to conduct their lives

and actions that the unselfish motives of America in this war will give greater support and courage to our chief executive in his capacity as leader of the world's democracies.

This country is not at war with the German people that we know—a people who were a part of the streams of immigrants who came to these western shores and with a blending of blood, of energy and aspirations, have made America what it is.

The German people, with their thrift, their industry, their philosophies, their music and their art have been contributors to the world's progress and civilization.

These qualities, in themselves, are desirable attributes of any people.

But America's objection to Germany is the development of a military machine that now menaces the peace of the world.

With an application, a skill and thoroughness, this monster engine of war, linked up with every economic and diplomatic force the House of Hohenzollern can command, stands a marvel of ingenuity and perfection. It is the amazement of peaceful peoples, reared in an atmosphere of national fraternity and good will.

The question, "What is the purpose of this military machine?" is answered by the fact that it exists. Military castes are developed with domination the single in mind. A nation is put on a drill sergeant basis for one object, and the object is now challenged by the American people who have joined hands with other peoples who refuse to be vassals, who will not be chained to the chariot wheels of the twentieth century war lord.

No element in our national life realizes the value of freedom and democracy to a greater extent than does the organized labor movement. These principles are the bed rock upon which our structure rests. Our movement is a continued protest against autocracy, be it political or industrial, and when our government calls for support in its present hour, the organized workers respond because they are American citizens, and because they must be true to their trade union principles.

It should not be understood that the unorganized worker, in factory or office, is less patriotic than members of trade unions. Assuming these two elements are imbued with the same patriotic ideals, the organized worker is of greater value to his country because of his ability to work with others, his faculty for "team work" as it were. Our government has realized this point, and in all affairs affecting the interest of wage workers the government has consulted with organized workers, and has appointed these workers on its various high commissions, committee and boards.

While the trade union movement is devoting every energy to patriotic work, it believes that patriotism does not consist entirely of repelling those who would attack from the outside our democratic form of government.

Another opponent to real democracy and sound citizenship are those who would lower working standards and be given a free hand in the employment of women, the mothers of men, and of children, our future men and women.

On this subject representatives of the national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor said:

"The guarantees of human conservation should be recognized in war as well as in peace."

This statement was made on March 12 of last year, when these trade union officials, meeting in Washington, announced that while the trade union movement abhorred war, it was behind the government in this hour of peril, come what may.

President Wilson quickly sensed the danger of destroying or even weakening standards of labor secured after years of effort, and in an address to trade union officials on May 15, 1917, or six weeks after the declaration that a state of war exists with Germany, he said:

"I have been very much alarmed at one or two things that have happened, at the apparent inclination of the Legislatures of one or two of our states to set aside even temporarily the laws which have safeguarded standards of labor and of life. I think nothing would be more deplorable than that. We are trying to fight in a cause which means the lifting of the standards of life, and we can fight in that cause best by voluntary coöperation. I do not doubt that any body of men representing labor in this country, speaking for their fellows, will be willing to make any sacrifice that is necessary in order to carry this contest to a successful issue and in that confidence I feel that it would be inexcusable if we deprived men and women of such a spirit of any of the existing safeguards of law. Therefore I shall exercise my influence, so far as it goes, to see that that does not happen, and that the sacrifices we make shall be made voluntarily and not under compulsion which not mistakenly is interpreted to mean a lowering of the standards which we have sought through so many generations to bring to their present level."

The government has indicated that it intends to maintain labor standards, and the Council of National Defense has stated

that before standards are reduced it should pass upon the question, as it is better positioned, with its survey of industry and of military necessities, to consider the question.

While the demand for the wholesale importation of Chinamen and Mexicans, and the unrestricted employment of women and children has somewhat subsided, labor is vigilant and will not yield gains made unless the national security and the success of our military forces are endangered. Labor will accept the word of President Wilson, but not the word of those employers, their representatives in Congress and their newspapers that are always found behind every reactionary move in support of the dollar as against the man.

I believe labor's position is understood and appreciated by sound thinking citizens, who have noted that despite calls for the abolition of labor standards that the government has assisted during the past month through mediation processes, in placing the northwest lumber industry on the eight-hour basis. The nation's packing industry will go on a basic eight-hour day next month, through a decision by an arbitrator selected by Secretary of Labor Wilson.

The placing of these important industries on the shorter work-day basis indicates that our government accepts the investigations of the British Government, which discovered, after practical tests, that long hours is no answer to the demand for increased war munitions.

Considerable criticism has been leveled at the labor movement by its enemies and many well-meaning but uninformed citizens because of the activities of representatives of the Industrial Workers of the World, an organization whose members refuse to enter into a collective bargain with their employers and reserve the right to cease work at any time when in their opinion there is the greatest likelihood that the employer will be compelled to concede their demands. The representatives of corporations that are hostile to the trade union movement assert that the I. W. W. is part of the labor movement and hold the labor movement responsible for all the acts and statements of these irresponsible representatives of an organization that has no following among the organized workers of the country, and whose representatives can only receive consideration from the unorganized employees of the employers who refuse to permit their employees to form a union for their betterment under penalty of instant dismissal. It is interesting to observe that the philosophy of the employer, who refuses to permit his employees to organize, is the very same philosophy which is observed by the I. W. W.'s. They secure through their system of agitation

as much for their labor as they can get and in any way they can get it. The corporations that refuse to permit their employees to organize secure from each employee as many hours' work each day as is possible for him to work and at the smallest possible wage per hour, without giving any more consideration to the individual than he gives to a piece of machinery. If the employers want industrial peace, it is within their reach. All that is necessary to secure it is to enter into a collective bargain with the national or international union that has jurisdiction over their employees. I said before and I say now, as long as there are I. W. W. employers, there will be I. W. W. employees. When the I. W. W. employers cease to exist, then the representatives of the I. W. W.'s will cease to carry on their agitation, because there will be no one who will give them a respectful hearing.

The packing house industry of this country has been revolutionized. In past years representatives of the packing houses refused to permit their employees to organize, but through the efforts of the trade union movement and a commission appointed by President Wilson, that industry has been placed upon the basic eight-hour day, with price and one quarter for over time up to ten hours and price and one-half for ten hours, with a substantial increase in wages. There will be no more I. W. W. agitation among the packing house employees so long as the packing house representatives will continue to meet and enter into a collective bargain with their employees.

The representatives of the Steel Trust have just refused to grant a basic eight-hour day to their employees in their mills in the Birmingham-Bessemer District. The Steel Trust and the Bethlehem Steel Works should place themselves in harmony with the conscience of the citizens of this country and concede the basic eight-hour day to their employees. The conditions of employment in the steel mills have been such that both the United States Steel and Bethlehem companies have been investigated by committees and reports printed and circulated in regard to the deplorable working conditions among their employees. Instead of two shifts in these industries when continuous operation is needed, three shifts should be employed. It is impossible for a man to work eleven hours for two weeks and thirteen hours for the next two weeks and on the last day each swing to work twenty-four hours straight and then have time for healthful recreation and opportunity for development.

President Wilson has just appointed a Commission of twelve, composed of five employers and five members of organized labor, and two representing the public, to adjust by mediation grievances

between employers and employees, and in that way prevent the cessation of industries during the period of the war. The committee has agreed upon a number of declarations as a basis for adjusting disputes; among them is the right of the workers to organize without being discriminated against for doing so, and the declaration that the remuneration for a day's work should be sufficient for a man and his family to live in reasonable comfort.

I am hopeful that the strike in the steel mills in the Birmingham and Bessemer district will be brought to the attention of this Commission by the Department of Labor, and that the Commission will succeed in bringing about an adjustment, which will recognize the basic eight-hour day in the steel industry and grant a wage that will mean that each man working for these companies will receive an amount sufficient to enable him and his family to live in reasonable comfort.

The labor movement has been persistent in its agitation for free schools, free text books and compulsory education. As a result of the agitation, every state has now a compulsory education law. Notwithstanding that fact, Secretary Lane in a communication to Senator Hoke Smith, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, said that the number of persons in America that can not read and write is almost unbelievable. There are in the United States, Secretary Lane said:

"(or were when the census was taken in 1910) 5,516,163 persons oven ten years of age who were unable to read or write in any language. There are now nearly 700,000 men of draft age in the United States who are, I presume, registered, who can not read or write in English or any other language. Over 4,000,000 of the illiterates in this country were 20 years of age or more.

"It would seem to be almost axiomatic that an illiterate man can not make a good soldier in modern warfare. Until last April the regular army would not enlist illiterates, yet in the first draft between 30,000 and 40,000 illiterates were brought into the army and approximately as many near-illiterates. They can not sign their names. They can not read their orders posted daily on bulletin boards in camps. They can not read their manual of arms. They can not read their letters or write home. They can not understand the signals or follow the signal corps in time of battle."

The trade union movement opposes the conscription of labor unless wealth is likewise conscripted.

The claim that labor should be conscripted on the same theory

that the country drafts its citizens for universal service is a ridiculous assertion. The government conscripts its citizens for service, the employer would conscript for exploitation.

Courts have repeatedly drawn a sharp line between civilian and military life, and while in theory no one can deny the government's right to draft any citizen for any purpose it sees fit when the nation's life is in jeopardy, the dollar should be forced to surrender its per cent. rights just as labor would be called upon to surrender its right of freedom.

Labor notifies these elements that urge conscription of labor that it will go farther than they will and that it will be the first to accept the government's dictum—if that time ever comes—that every ounce of man power and every dollar and other evidence of wealth must be thrown in the common lot with every citizen on soldiers' rations that the nation may live.

We notify these employers and their spokesmen in the United States Senate that they can not use the war to establish principles of peonage that they long for when the days of peace return, while they insist on interest and on the establishment of depreciation funds so that when the war ends it will be found that they have not only maintained well rounded profits during this period of stress but that the people have paid for their equipment to make these profits.

The claim made in the United States Senate yesterday that labor is not doing its share in this war is not supported by men less interested in publicity than in securing facts. These claims possess a value, however. They conceal deplorable working conditions, lack of housing and a labor turn-over that has amounted in some cases to seven men for every job in one month. Labor suggests that strikes can be removed by removing causes for strikes. We submit that if it is charged that labor will strike without reason, and when conditions are satisfactory, that our workers are so lacking in patriotism that our nation rests on a foundation of sand.

Their remedy is force—a bayonet behind every worker. They favor the Prussian idea, of which they allege such horror.

The trade unionist's remedy for strikes is a calm and dispassionate discussion of reasons for this condition, and then prompt application of the remedy.

We appreciate, however, the mental attitude of men who urge conscription of labor. They realize the changing order from the day when workers were looked upon as separate and apart from other portions of society, when workers were but "hewers of wood and drawers of water," without voice and denied a part in the affairs of our country.

It is impossible to stay progress, and it is impossible to reëstablish former conditions and former ideals.

In this world crisis labor only asks for conditions that will permit it to maintain its productive powers and equip the coming generation with an education. Labor takes its stand with every other American in this world struggle for right. With a triumphant peace none will gain more than the men and women of labor, for they realize that with the acceptance of every democratic ideal the wage-earner, who has emerged from the age-long serf, down-trodden and denied, will be morally, spiritually and materially advanced.

# MAINTENANCE OF AMERICAN STANDARDS OF LABOR

By Louis F. Post,

*Assistant Secretary of Labor*

Inasmuch as I have the honor of representing here this morning the Department of Labor of the United States, and as you come from all over the country, as I take it, and are going throughout the land to spread the information you may receive over here, it may not be out of place to spend a moment or two in describing or giving a background for the Department of Labor, for it is but little understood. I know that most people imagine it is a department of the American Federation of Labor, of which my friends Gompers and Morrison have just been speaking.

Now, the Department of Labor of the United States is the baby department, the baby executive department, of the United States Government. You know that the government is divided into several departments, each having separate functions, with a secretary at the head of each department, a secretary who originally in the formation of the government was a sort of private secretary to the President, but who developed, as an official usually does, until there came to be ten distinct departments, each having at its head a secretary, a member of the President's cabinet.

When the Civil War had ended—something more than fifty years ago, nearly sixty—some workingmen assembled in Louisville, Kentucky, to talk over matters pertaining to the labor situation. They had been fighting on both sides. There were Confederate soldiers and there were Union soldiers; they were wage-earners; and they met in a sort of conference, because they had found out, my friends, that notwithstanding they had been fighting for their country, somebody else owned their country when the fighting job was over, and they did not quite understand it. They wanted to take steps, if possible, to protect themselves as business men, because the word "business" was then beginning to occupy public attention. They were "business men," a peculiar kind of business men. In one respect the wage-

earner is distinctly a business man. He has something to sell. He has the product of his labor to sell, the potential product. He is going to make something and wants to sell it. But he has to sell it in advance for what is called "wages." I am going to drive so many nails in a building, or, we will say, I am going to lay so many bricks; and I want to sell those nails after they have been driven, or those bricks after they have been laid, and I have to do it in advance. When the workingman goes into the market to sell his advance labor, he finds that he is just like any other business man in selling goods, except he can never have more than one customer at a time. Now, any of you knowing anything about business men understands that a business man in that situation who can never have but one customer at a time, who cannot leave his counter or his shop to hunt up another customer, is at a decided disadvantage. You see the difference. The ordinary business man has a number of customers. He can lose one and it does not count materially, because he can go out and get another—he is hunting others all the time. But the wage-earner, when he loses his customer, must knock off work and hunt for another customer. That puts him as a business man at a disadvantage. And these men met in Louisville, Kentucky, to see what they could do about this situation.

On that occasion, among other things, they declared there should be a Department of Labor in the United States Government, with a secretary at its head, to sit at the President's table, to advise the President of the aspirations, the needs, the sufferings, the disadvantages of the wage-earner, and thereby enable the President to present their cause to Congress in his own way, an intelligent way, which Presidents after Lincoln had not always been in the habit of doing!

It was fifty years after that before wage workers got what they asked for,—a Department of Labor, with a secretary at its head who sat at the cabinet table. Fifty years! Congress was busy at that time, my friends, in protecting the public land. We had a great domain of public lands at that time. There was much danger of those lands getting up on their hind legs and walking off into the Pacific Ocean, and so we would have lost them all, and the Congresses of those days were accordingly very busy. In fact, some of the habits of that early day have come on down almost to the present time!—some of the habits of Congress in fastening down and holding down those lands so they would not run off into the Pacific Ocean! and they did it by giving titles to certain corporations, and these corporations have held onto the lands faithfully and tightly ever since!

Being so busily engaged in a more important matter, Con-

gress was not able to accede to this request of the workingmen who had been fighting the cause of the Union—and the cause of the Confederacy, for that matter—but they came together after a while and did what they could; but it took twenty years to even make one little break in the situation, and that little break was the creation of a bureau of labor statistics, which was given full power to collect any kind of figures it wanted, and fix them up in nice shape for college classrooms. That was as near as they attained to solving this problem for twenty years. Then the agitation went on until there was no resisting it any longer, and the Congress of some fifteen years or thereabouts ago made a compromise; they created the Department of Commerce and Labor, whereby they expected to settle the question by tying business men and working men together,—those two kinds of "businesses." It was the old story of tying two cats together by their tails and then throwing them across the family clothes-line in order to secure peace between the cats! They created the Department of Commerce and Labor. Well, now, of course, you could not have a wage worker at the head of that. It had to be a business man of the kind that can have more customers than one at a time, and of the kind that can make money when he does not work,—perhaps more money when he does not work than when he does! That kind of business man had to be at the head of this department. Well, you can imagine what happened. It went along ten more years, and finally they carved that department into two halves,—cut the cats' tails apart, so to speak, —and they allowed the Department of Commerce to stand as the ninth department in the government and created the Department of Labor as the tenth. It had hard sledding for a while, and has yet for that matter. Now, the significant thing that happened was this: President Wilson made the first great, vital error in his administration when he appointed a Secretary of Labor. Here were corporation lawyers galore. Here were business men a-plenty, every one of whom was thoroughly competent to run a department of labor in the interests of the wage-earners of the United States as seen from the non-wage-earners' point of view. And President Wilson, instead of doing that perfectly plain, simple, easy thing, actually went out of his way to hunt up a man who had worked for wages all his life to put at the head of that department! As I said, the first of the great succession of errors of which he has been guilty clear down to the present time was this appointment of a Secretary of Labor!—because he put in that position as Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson, a man whom I hope you will hear to-night. The President put him in there the very first act of his adminis-

tration. It was one of the most serious errors of his administration, as some of the corporation heads who were getting ready for the fall campaign looked at it!

I hope, without taking too much time, that I may have given you a general idea of the background of that departmental work. Now let me tell you a very significant thing about the Department of Labor. It is the only executive department in which the federal government—of all the ten departments it is the only one that is vitalized with the human element. Oh, I do not mean that the secretaries of the other departments are not human, and I do not imply that the bureau heads in the other departments are not human. Although we might admit that those who have been on their jobs for a good while have gotten pretty well crystallized! What I mean is that the real human element exists in the Department of Labor as an essential part of its functioning. Take, for instance, the Navy Department. Well, that department is human in a sense, but its best humanity had to be devoted, until the present administration of Secretary Daniels, to killing men instead of saving them. The present secretary started a new régime, and paid for it pretty dearly for three or four years as a result of the opposition of the "non-producing" members of society, and so on! and humanity is not the essential element of the Department of the Navy. Neither is it in the War Department, nor yet in the Department of Agriculture. This last named department is devoted to raising food, etc. But if you turn to the annual reports you will find it's the seed, it's the soil, it's the machinery, it's this method or that method that occupies the Department of Agriculture. If there is anything human in those departments, it never sees the light of day, for those bureau heads never talk! Now, the essential thing of the Department of Labor is that it is a human department. Let me tell you its purpose.

I do not know who framed it; whoever did it either knew what he was about or else he didn't! Here is what he said: "The purpose of the Department of Labor shall be to foster, promote and develop the welfare of the wage-earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment." In specifying "profitable employment" the man indicated that he either knew what he was doing or that he did not! If he was a wage-earner he knew what he was about, because he had heard a good deal about there being plenty of work, plenty of employment, and knew that the trouble about the matter was that while work was plentiful wages were not. If it were an employer of the old type, he did not know what he was writing, and it would

look as though somebody had put that over on him! At any rate, there is the human element. Let me give you an illustration of how that human factor seems to infuse the whole department.

When this war broke out there came down here a great raft of people to help show this government—administration, which had got into power by accident!—how to run the government in a time like this. They came down and offered their services, many of them offering their services to the government for a dollar a year, when they were getting fifteen or twenty thousand dollars a year from their own corporations, to see to it that the government did not forget that their corporations were among the essential elements in winning this war! They got the name of "Dollar a Year Patriots." I want, however, to say this about the "Dollar a Year Patriots." I know some of them to be *real* patriots. One of them in particular was a wealthy man, a man who inherited his wealth and industriously made more by his own effort. He was a lawyer, and he concluded to get out and do his "bit" in the war, without looking for his "bite," as Secretary Daniels puts it! He came down here, and happened to run across a friend, Herbert Quick, now a member of the Federal Farm Loan Board. When this man came down here from New York, Mr. Quick said, "Why don't you go to the Department of Labor and find your place?" The man asked, "What's that?" He thought it was the American Federation of Labor. Well, the upshot of the conversation was that he came in with us, and he is a real man, a real patriot, a real worker, and has done one of the best and biggest jobs that has been handled since the war began. One day, after he had been with us six or seven months, we were talking over the day's work in my office at the close of office hours, just before going home, and he said, "Boys, I have had a remarkable experience since I have been here." He went on: "My association with the Department of Labor has given me an entirely new view of life. I have had a liberal education here. Why, when I came here I did not know there was anything human in labor. Oh," he explained, "of course I knew John Smith, a laborer, and I liked him personally, perhaps, or I did not like him, but labor in the mass, to me was not human. Labor in the mass meant no more to me than the item of labor cost in my ledger."

Now, my friends, when he said that he summed up the whole labor question in the United States. The people that employ labor think of labor in the mass as nothing but an item of labor cost in their ledgers. Some of them think of laborers as serfs, who ought to be serfs. They look upon them perhaps as articles

of commerce, they look upon them as cattle,—at the best, as nice cattle to be properly taken care of. There is the attitude of mind on the part of employers that has made the labor question in this nation and that is more responsible than any other one factor for the presence of the I. W. W. in this country!

Now, we are asked about the maintenance of American standards of labor. Both the speakers who preceded me have touched upon American standards of labor. Let us get it down to an abstraction, to a general principle. We can catalogue labor standards, of course. There is child labor. We are not allowing profiteers to make profit any more out of the labor of babies. We are not allowing women to be exploited in employments that they do not want to serve in, and should not serve in, except under the greatest stress. We have school conditions. We have various other standards that have been reached. We have almost—in fact, I think we can now say we have—reached the basic eight-hour day as one of the accomplishments of organized labor. But without attempting to catalogue, let us get at the principal American standards of labor. How are you going to decide or tell any one else whether a certain requirement is or ought to be a standard of American labor or not? My judgment is that there is only one way to do it. What is meant by American? Do we mean the Hun? Do we mean the German method? Do we mean the Junkers of America, or France, or Great Britain, or wherever else they come from? Junkers are pretty much the same the world over! We do not mean that when we talk about anything American. What do we hark back to? Some people say to the Constitution of the United States. But the Constitution of the United States can be amended. It has been amended by the people. It can be amended by the Supreme Court, and has been. But there is one American thing that does not lend itself to amendment, and that is the first clause of the Declaration of Independence, on which our government is founded—that men are created equal, with certain unalienable rights which cannot be taken away, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Not that we originated it, but we adopted it, and built a democratic government on that principle. Some triflers have said men are not created equal, that there are men six feet tall and men only four feet tall. But does that make any difference in the equality of men? Some men may lift more, some may have bigger brains, but all have equality of rights under the laws and institutions of this country. That's what our declaration means! And when we depart from that we are departing from Americanism, and if we are going to depart from that we might as well let the Huns whip us and

be done with it, as to whip them and be whipped in turn by the Huns of our own country! I am trying to awaken in you a sense and understanding of what American patriotism means. It does not mean merely winning battles nor winning the war. It has to do also with what wars and battles are won for; and our wars and battles are to be won for equal rights for all our own people, and of all mankind the whole world over!

Now, the American standards of labor—put them to that test. That's the test to which they must be put. Go to one of them in particular. We have heard it alluded to this morning, a question of conscripting labor. My friends, I am as thoroughgoing an advocate of conscription for war as my powers and abilities will permit. I believe in conscription in a democratic country! Thank God we had conscription here for filling our armies. I believe that is the true way for a democracy to fight; not to throw out the call as we have to do for our money. We have to go begging for our money. We ought not to go begging for our men. We should say it is the duty of every man of proper age and physical abilities to serve his country, and it is not for him to rush to the front and shout, "I know how to serve it better than any one else, and here I am!" It is for the country to say, "We need you!" and so long as the country selects honestly and fairly toward all, that is the way to raise our armies; and for that reason I am for conscription. For another reason, conscription does not glorify war. Conscription makes of war a crime which we must face, which we must be sorry for, but which we must fight if need be to the bitter end as a democratic people. The call for volunteers—well, some of you, I see, from your gray hairs, and your no hairs! who lived in the day when we did have volunteering, back fifty years ago,—you know it was not the best method. They tried conscription then, but it failed. Why? Because that infamous feudalistic policy that had persisted still continued. Any man who could put up three hundred dollars could get out of going into the army himself. It was on a dollar basis. We have conscription as a policy now. It does not need to be defended.

Conscription for what? Conscription to maintain this democratic government democratic? No! We do not pretend that our country is democratic. Democracy is a growth. Democracy is not something we have attained to and which can live forever upon the level lands until some one drives it off. Democracy is a process. When the country was started on the basis of equality for all, we had slavery for humans, and it persisted until, like all bad things, it forced us into a terrific struggle, and we got rid of it. We have had a feudalistic spirit coming down

to us, and it manifests itself in many ways. We have not had a democratic country, but we have been making a democratic country, and we are fighting this war for the right to go on making this a democratic country. Let Germany win in this war, my friends, and it will not have made any difference whether we went into it or not; let Germany win in this war, and the bell tolls the doom of democracy for centuries in all probability, for generations certainly. We have got to win the war in order to maintain our former right and our former opportunity of going on developing our democracy from chattel slavery to freedom from slavery, from no manhood suffrage to all manhood suffrage, from no woman's suffrage to—well, pretty nearly it, so I might as well say it—to woman's suffrage! From former conditions in which men who worked for wages got together in the quietest manner possible and sent a committee to their employers and said, "Please, master, give us an hour or two less of work," or, "Please, master, give us a cent or two more in pay"—from the time when doing that was a crime until the time when the leaders in the United States of the American labor movement have as much responsibility, perhaps, as any other men, for the waves of patriotism that have swept through our patriotic classes in this country in the face of the war. Now, what are the standards of American labor, tested by democracy?

As to conscription for work, I will tell you what I think of it. For war, have an army if need be, by conscription for every government service, whether it be in the trenches, or in clerkships, or in making munitions, or building ships, or raising food, or doing any of the other things that are just as necessary to winning this war as fighting in the trenches is. Conscription for that, if necessary, yes; but not the kind of conscription that some people are so energetically urging just now. Secretary Wilson sounded the slogan. He said early in the war, "The time may come when we must conscript labor. If that times comes, let us conscript labor, but let us conscript labor only for government work, and not for any individual's profit!" The farmer who wants labor conscripted for his farm, let him say, "Here's my farm, Mr. Government!" The manufacturers that want labor conscripted, let them say to the government, "Here's our factory." Conscript the laborer to work for the government, yes; if we come to that, well and good; but we must have no drawing of the line in favor of the profiteer and against the worker!

We have heard a great deal about labor and capital—I beg your pardon, a great deal about capital and labor! From certain sources it is capital and labor; capital comes first in the minds of some people; they forget that the man who stands next

to Thomas Jefferson for the democracy of this country declared that labor stands before capital. It always has; it always must, and he advised labor to give up none of the advances that it had made, for he knew that if it did give up the advances that it had made, capital would have no conscience in taking advantage of it and turning the country back again in the direction of feudalism. "Labor comes before capital," said Abraham Lincoln. It is more important than capital. Our business interests have not quite recognized that, but the people of the United States have come to see that it is true. They have quoted Lincoln on the assumption that he meant that once upon a time labor preceded capital. Well, any little boy able to say his letters in a day school would know that capital does not grow of itself. Capital has to be made by labor. But though acknowledging that labor had made the first capital, then they assumed that capital went on using itself, perpetuating itself, and that labor was a good thing to have hanging around for an emergency! We have all learned now, my friends, the truth of what Lincoln said, that not only did labor produce the original capital, but labor produces all the capital there is; labor reproduces capital; labor uses capital. Without labor nothing can be done by capital that is done. And we have learned it in this war. Why, it is not five years ago that even college professors, and even lecturers out on the platform, imagined that we did not need labor very much. There was a whole lot of it, and we did not need it. We find out now from the hysterical cries going up that we are dependent on labor not only to win this war, but to live. Labor is mankind at work making a living for mankind. We live from hand to mouth. The rich lady or the idle gentleman who imagines that he is living on the saved-up labor of his ancestors,—I used to tell those people to imagine that they were eating the saved-up eggs of their grandfathers, which, of course, were not good for anything but political meetings and not considered just the thing for that any longer! You do not live on the past. Whoever lives without working to-day is living on the sweat of somebody that is working to-day. And if you are not giving an equivalent, you are a slacker! I do not care whether you are a slacker at a cost of a dollar a day or a slacker at a cost of a thousand dollars a day. I prefer the dollar a day slacker to the thousand dollar a day slacker, for it doesn't cost other people so much to keep him! Now, my friends, this war has impressed that upon us. It has intensified that thought, that we are dependent from day to day upon the labor of the day.

Oh, but you say, we are not dependent entirely upon wage-working labor; other people work besides the wage-worker.

That's true, and it is one of the great misfortunes that we have suffered under, that the intellectuals of this country have been drawing lines, and the capitalists of this country, between the labor that does not hire itself out to somebody and the labor that does. The labor that does is like the old feudal labor; and there is other labor, and they point to the man who does big things and accomplishes great results. I am in absolute sympathy with the thought that all labor is labor, whether that of guiding labor or that of the wage-worker. Whatever contributes to the maintenance of the living of mankind is labor, and we are dependent upon it. The labor that knows how, and charges pretty well for its know how—there is such labor, but before I hire that labor for the public good I would like to know what it knows how about. What is the know how? Is it the way? Is it knowing how to make things that we need and want, or is it knowing how to get a lion's share of the things that somebody else makes? That's where I draw the line between the labor we want and the labor we do not. Productive labor is the thing that we want. That which is not productive but is merely consumptive, that's the kind we do not want. And this war will have been fought in vain, will have been won in vain by us, unless it leaves behind us a condition in which, as nearly as we can adjust it, every man shall get the full product of his own labor. He may say, how are you to measure it? Why, the market measures it. A man may put a thousand bricks in a wall. What is that labor worth? Well, what's the wall worth? What would a man give for that labor? There are tests, if you have freedom. We have not got it yet. When this war is over, I think we shall have a higher and a more effective democracy. I think we will have learned from the Germans what it is to try to have imperialistic policies spread over the world. Our own imperialists will get ashamed of themselves, and want to make this country really a democratic instead of an imperialistic country; and sorrowful as we are, of course, when people lose their lives, we should welcome that outcome of the war.

Now, I am going to give you,—I do not want to be a pessimist,—I am not a pessimist; I am an optimist; I have the utmost confidence that everything will be better a hundred years from now than it is to-day, and that everything will be more democratic than it is to-day. But I am not so sure of to-morrow, or next year, or the next fifteen years, or twenty years. I am rather a pessimist as to those periods. In turning a corner, I am sometimes afraid of seeing a ghost! I am an optimist, however, along general lines!

Now, I see a great optimistic outlook in something spoken

of to-day by both the speakers. I refer to that Taft-Walsh report. Let me tell you just a little more definitely about that than they did. The Secretary of Labor concluded that during this war we should try to bring about an end of strikes. In that he was in harmony with even the biggest profiteers. They wanted strikes stopped, too. He wanted it in the interests of the country. They wanted it, many of them, in the interests of their pocketbooks. So he proposed there should be a commission, and he turned to the Federation of Labor and said, "Name me five men that best represent the capitalistic outlook to-day"; and when those men were named he appointed them on a commission,—five men who represent labor, leaders in the labor movement, presidents of large international or at least national organizations, and the others business men, every one of whom had made his pile. Only one had ever been willing in his life to deal with a labor union. I do not know why he did, but he did. It seems that he was the only one. Now, the Secretary said to these two groups of men, "Each of you choose a man to represent the public interests as distinguished from clashing capitalistic and organized labor interests." The labor group named Mr. Walsh; the business group named Mr. Taft. Well, now, I sat there in a back office wondering how things were going to come out. I thought it was a splendid thing for the Secretary to do. I am a little bit of a politician myself, but I never thought that he could win out on any such proposition. I never supposed that crowd would come together in a unanimous report. Would you? Well, if you had seen the list of men, you would not have thought so. Not if you had known them as well as I thought I did. I did not think they would do anything unanimously. But, to my utter amazement, one day a messenger came to my office and said that ex-President Taft and Mr. Walsh were in the Secretary's office with a pile of papers in their hands. I had thoughts of minority reports and all that sort of thing. He said, "It looked rather harmonious." I asked him whether they had arrived at any conclusion, and he said, "Yes, they have agreed." I did not believe it, but to the astonishment of everybody that knew anything about the situation, we found those men really had agreed. Now, you have been told what they agreed upon. I am going to trespass upon my time just a little bit to tell you what they agreed about. It's all very well for you to be told they agreed on something or other, as my friend Morrison and my friend Gompers have told you, but I want you to know exactly what they agreed upon. I will not read you all the text. You can get it in the Department Bulletin of April 9th. They agreed on this principle:

"That there be created for the period of the war a National War Labor Board of the same number and to be selected in the same manner and by the same agencies as the commission making this recommendation.

"That the functions and powers of the National Board shall be as follows:

"1. To bring about a settlement, by mediation and conciliation, of every controversy arising between employers and workers in the field of production necessary for the effective conduct of the war.

"2. To do the same thing in similar controversies in other fields of national activity, delays and obstructions in which may, in the opinion of the National Board, affect detrimentally such production.

"3. To provide such machinery, by direct appointment or otherwise, for selection of committees or boards to sit in various parts of the country where controversies arise, to secure settlement by local mediation and conciliation.

"4. To summon the parties to the controversy for hearing and action by the National Board in case of failure to secure settlement by local mediation and conciliation.

"Principles and Policies.—There should be no strikes or lockouts during the war."

That last has been a principle of organized labor, not to promote walkouts or strikes, though in the past our workers had to strike as our country has had to go to war. They all agreed on that on both sides. Then comes the right to organize.

"Right to Organize.—1. The right of workers to organize in trade-unions and to bargain collectively, through chosen representatives, is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever."

Why, sakes alive, that's what the labor unions have been trying to get for years and years—the right to bargain collectively! That's all! Now, it is unanimously agreed upon by the very employers who would not join in it before! Mr. Taft and Mr. Walsh joined in that agreement. It comes out under their sanction, and Mr. Walsh is well trusted by labor organizations, and Mr. Taft is well trusted by the fairer type of employer.

It gives the employers the same right. That is democratic. No one wants to draw a line. Employers had the right all along. They have claimed the right, and they never for one moment

proposed to abandon their right to organize and act through representatives. But now they have it; the right is given them by this unanimous agreement.

"The right of employers to organize in associations of groups and to bargain collectively."

That's what labor organizations have been trying to get for ever so long, but employers would not agree to it. "No, sir, no man shall come into my place and make a bargain with me for my men." The chances were they said it through a lawyer. In other words, they had their own representative on the ground, but would not permit a representative of organized labor to deal with him. But now the right to organize in groups and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is "recognized, and affirmed."

"This right shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by the workers in any manner whatsoever."

There you have it, what the workers have been trying to get—a unanimous agreement with both sides, that they shall have the right to organize and act through representatives. Furthermore:

"Employers should not discharge workers for membership in trade-unions, nor for legitimate trade-union activities.

"The workers, in the exercise of their right to organize, shall not use coercive measure of any kind to induce persons to join their organizations, nor to induce employers to bargain or deal therewith."

Then comes the matter of the open shop. You have heard a good deal about the open and closed shop. Originally trade-union men said a shop open to trade-unions was an open shop. That was a pretty good word, and the bosses captured it. They said a shop a trade-unionist could not work in was an open shop, and the other was a closed shop. The men had the closed shop when they succeeded in forcing employers to allow organized labor to work there, and the men had the open shop when they did not succeed in forcing employers to permit organized labor to work there. But in fact we never had open shops, my friends. There were only two kinds of shops. One was the shop that was closed by the employers to union labor, and the other was the shop that was closed by the unions to non-union labor. They were both of them closed shops, the bosses' closed shop and the workers' closed shop. Now we are to have real open shops. Listen:

"Existing Conditions.—1. In establishments where the union shop exists the same shall continue and the union standards as to wages, hours of labor and other conditions of employment shall be maintained."

That standard shall persist where it has been achieved.

"2. In establishments where union and non-union men and women now work together, and the employer meets only with employees or representatives engaged in said establishments, the continuance of such conditions shall not be deemed a grievance. This declaration, however, is not intended in any manner to deny the right or discourage the practice of the formation of labor unions, or the joining of the same by the workers in said establishments, as guaranteed in the last paragraph, nor to prevent the War Labor Board from urging, or any umpire from granting, under the machinery herein provided, improvement of their situation in the matter of wages, hours of labor, or other conditions, as shall be found desirable from time to time.

"3. Established safeguards and regulations for the protection of the health and safety of workers shall not be relaxed."

And then on the question of wages, it was provided that they shall be sufficient to maintain the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort.

My friends, that document, it seems to me, is a little like Abraham Lincoln's speech at Gettysburg. Some of you may remember the time that Lincoln delivered his great address on the Gettysburg battlefield. There was not much mention in the newspapers about it. They hardly gave Mr. Lincoln any mention at all. The speech of the day was like mine in one respect, altogether too long, by Edward Everett, who was the great orator of that time, and his was the great speech of the occasion. Mr. Lincoln "also said a few words." But after a while people began to discover that the classic of that occasion was not the oration of the great orator of the time, but the address, "the few words added" by the then president of the United States. That was the classic speech at Gettysburg, and so, similar to that in some respects it seems to me, is this Taft-Walsh report. It attracts but little attention now, but it is the beginning of an epoch; it is the culmination of a long struggle that wage-working labor has had in order to place itself upon a basis of fair and equal dealing with the people who employ the members of the union that belong to it. I congratulate Mr. Taft and I congratulate Mr. Walsh, and I congratulate Secretary Wilson, and

I congratulate the President, on having adopted that program as the future program during the war; and I trust and believe that it will be the program of industry not only through the war, but for long years after the war, and until a level of intercourse between those who work for wages and those who direct their work shall have been arrived at.

# THE PROBLEM OF FOOD

By Herbert Hoover,

*Head of the United States Food Administration*

I think that you are here in the endeavor to learn something of the problems of the government and the policies of the government with regard to these problems. I am going to confine myself strictly to my own work, that is, the food problem.

The primary function of the Food Administration is to feed the Allies. We have often been represented in other lights, but that is our one and sole object; and in so doing to carry on the operations that are necessary to that work in such a way as to cause the least inconvenience and the least injustice and the least hardship on the American people. But, beyond and above all things, it is our duty to keep our eye on the ball, and our ball is food for the Allies.

You could get some appreciation of the world's food supply if you could picture something of the world's geography in your mind's eye. If we divided the world's food supply into, say, three food pools, one of which embraces Australia and Asia, the other South America, and the third North America, there is ample foodstuffs in those three combined pools to take care of all Allied demands without any restriction in any country. Our difficulty arises solely from the shipping situation. The first pool that I have mentioned has practically been isolated from Europe by the shortage in ships. It requires three times the length of voyage to Australasia for food that it does to North America. It therefore requires three times as many ships to transport an equivalent amount of food, and in these times of constantly shortening ships it has been necessary to abandon Australasia generally as a source of food supply. The South American food pool is in partially the same position, for it requires twice the amount of voyage that it does to North America and double the number of ships to transport the same amount of food, and as we must increase the number of soldiers in France we must accordingly withdraw Allied shipping from the market. It is, therefore, a shortage of shipping that gives us an acute food problem, and every pound, every

ton of foodstuffs that we can provide from North America is that much relief to the already short shipping of the world in the necessity of going to the longer and far-distant markets. In that aspect the increased export of foodstuffs from the United States becomes practically a ship construction question, for if we can save the number of ships that must go to farther ports we are practically producing ships for Allied purposes.

We are also, in that same aspect, by increasing our food exports from the United States, fighting the submarines. If we can replace by the shorter voyage the losses due to the submarine, we have given the American consumer and producer a direct participation in the fight.

Now, this country is the largest of the food producing areas. It is also the largest of the food consuming populations from a per capita point of view. Our standard of living is higher than that of any other country in the world. The consequence is that we have two points of resiliency in our food supplies. The first is that we consume from twenty to forty per cent. more food of different commodities than are necessary to maintain the public health and strength; and we could, by repressing consumption, produce for export purposes a very large quantity of foodstuffs. And the second, we can reënforce in turn by an increased production. Between these two resources, the resource we have by way of decreased consumption and by increased production, we are able to take care of the Allied demands.

There is no occasion for hysteria as to famine either here or amongst the Allies. The sole problem is one of adjustment of our surplus, of using the surplus out of our plenty to meet the emergency. There is a sufficiency in margin between our necessary consumption and our capacity of production to take care of all our Allied people.

Now, when we came to the problem of reducing consumption we tried in this work, as in all other government work, to keep our eye solely on the object which we wanted to accomplish. For over-seas transportation we required but a few commodities in number. Those commodities must be the most concentrated form of foodstuffs; they must be foodstuffs that stand transportation and preservation to the best advantage; they have finally to be able to preserve under the stress of shipping and under the commercial conditions of distribution, and under those conditions they limit themselves to practically six commodities, that is, wheat, about an equivalent amount of other cereals, oat products, beef products, a minor amount of dairy products, and sugar.

Now, those are the commodities which we must furnish for

the backbone of Allied feeding. We have not, therefore, considered that it was vital to us to interest ourselves in other commodities than those mentioned. All commodities, food commodities, react on each other. If we secure a reduction in consumption of those particular staples which we desire to export, the shortage created will more or less be filled by the other commodities of which we have, in many cases, a surplus, as, for instance, take the case of vegetables, where we have a surplus and where our own people can quite well substitute them.

When we entered upon the war and entered upon actual food administration last summer, we took more or less stock of our larder and that of our Allies in order that we might have in hand all the needs of the problem that we had to face. Last year we did not get a harvest up to normal. Our corn crop promised to be of the greatest dimensions in our national history. But, as you know, it failed, and the one crop which furnishes nearly fifty per cent. of the fundamental food of the American people was probably shorter in its actual food value than at any time in the last ten years. We were also short in our wheat. We were, therefore, faced with the necessity of securing a considerable reduction in the consumption of cereals.

Now there are three or four methods by which a reduction in consumption can be effected. The European method is one of rationing, that is, allotting each individual a certain amount of food. That method requires an expenditure of probably more than fifteen million dollars, demanding the employment of anywhere from five hundred thousand to a million people in order to carry it out in its actual administrative detail. A second method was to allow the purchase of Allied foodstuffs in the United States in competition with our own population under prices at such a level that some section of the population would no longer be able to buy, and thereby curtail the consumption. That is a favorite method of the reduction of consumption by theoretical accounts. It is service for the rich and not for the poor. That method is taking food from the people's nourishment instead of taking it from their plenty.

We have the third method, which we have applied and on which we were taking a great deal of national hazard as to its success; that was to appeal to the American people purely as a voluntary measure of each individual, that each man and woman and child should themselves reduce their consumption of certain definite commodities, and that they should not only reduce the consumption of those commodities, but reduce the whole food consumption in cutting down the daily food waste by every meas-

ure which every individual could himself employ. We felt that it was taking a great deal of a risk to throw the whole hazard of feeding the Allies on a measure of that type. Voluntary conservation had been tried in Europe and had been proven practically a failure. On the other hand, we felt that the American people had a higher sense of self-sacrifice, had a higher average of intelligence, and that we could count on the devotion of a larger number of individuals in our population than in any other population in the world. We have, therefore, for eight months conducted a campaign of purely voluntary service. We have, during this period, except for the difficulties of transportation both on land and on the sea, supplied the Allies with all their estimated needs. We have every prospect of being able to do so until next August. As time goes on the pressure upon us for one commodity or another may change, and it is necessary for us to change the wishes that we put forward to the public. At the present moment the pressure for wheat and cereals is greater than any of the other commodities, and we are asking more strongly than ever for a saving in those particular commodities above all others.

A question that so frequently comes to us is, Why do we insist upon a shipment of wheat instead of the other cereals? In other words, Why cannot the Allies themselves live upon corn instead of asking the American people to do so in such a proportion? That problem is purely one of commercial conditions. The Allied people have never eaten corn, except in a very minor degree. They have no facilities for the milling of corn. Corn meal will not ship overseas in safety. It is not a durable flour, such as wheat flour. What bread is used in Europe is baked in bakeries. The population have but little knowledge of bread-baking. They are unable to make similar bread at home, partially from a lack of ovens, and partially from a lack of knowledge of making bread of any kind; and also, just at this time of the year corn itself will not stand shipment overseas because it is now going through its annual germinating season.

Therefore, from a purely commercial, manufacturing standpoint, and because of the habits of the people, if the Allies are to be fed with breadstuffs, we are practically compelled to sacrifice our wheat.

Now, there is but little sacrifice to the American people in transferring their breadstuffs from wheat to corn. There is no physiological reason why it should not be done. The Food Administration, early in its work, summoned the ten or twelve greatest physiological experts in the country and placed this problem before them, and their unanimous agreement was that

the value in nutrition and the value from every point of view of corn was practically equivalent to wheat.

The American people, of course, have some knowledge of making bread out of corn. It is not as widely diffused as we had originally anticipated, and we have had therefore to carry out more or less of a cook-book propaganda; but in any event the results have not only been satisfactory, but they have been astonishing in the fidelity with which the American people have followed these requests.

Now, it is one thing to make a request of that type, but it is another thing to get an impression in the mind of each individual that it is a national obligation. To consider for a moment the method by which it is to be accomplished: There are one hundred million people in the United States, and it is at least necessary to instruct the dominant member of every family, of which there are twenty million. They do not all read the newspapers, and they do not all believe everything they read. And therefore it has been necessary to carry on a fairly widespread propaganda by way of publication, by way of committees, by way of county, state, township and other organizations, by appealing to such bodies as your own to carry a definite war message to the American people, in order that we may get this impression and this necessity at every dinner table in the country.

That propaganda has cost a certain amount of money. I presume that for our year's work in that direction we may have spent a million dollars in printing and in traveling expenses, and in committee expenses, and one thing and another of that type. If, however, we accomplished our object, and accomplished it by the expenditure of a million dollars on propaganda, we will have saved ten or fifteen millions of dollars and an enormous local and incidental injustice and difficulty, from what it would have cost if we had attempted to do this work by any other method.

Our voluntary conservation has other aspects besides the net results accomplishable in so many tons of foodstuffs. In the first instance, these wars are not paid for out of the accumulations of wealth. A war is the expenditure of labor and commodities. That expenditure goes on from the day war is declared until it is finished, and the commodities and the labor expended must be taken from the normal supplies of the people; and that is the price of war. It is not the money; the money merely represents the media through which the distribution of these commodities and this labor are taken. The consequence is that if we are to afford the economic luxury of some ten millions of men devoted to actual war and the support of the

war, if we are to take away from our normal consumption the enormous amount of steel and iron and foodstuffs that would otherwise go to consumption, we have to save somewhere; we cannot carry on the war unless we can reduce consumption of commodities and labor. If we can reduce this consumption down to a point equivalent to our expenditure in those directions, we will have emerged as a nation from the war with no economic balance. Therefore, we have felt that a voluntary basis of food conservation would carry the message of saving from the national point of view into every household more effectively than any other way that message could be given to the American people.

The actual concrete saving of foodstuffs amounts to a great many tons, and it amounts actually to a surplus dedicated to the war without economic damage to the country, so long as it is saved from consumption.

The same thing will apply to the glass, the boots, the shoes, the iron, the steel, and everything that we expend upon this war. If we can secure a sufficient reduction in the consumption below our normal to supply all our military purposes, we can emerge from the war in exactly the same economic position in which we entered it.

Furthermore, there is in conservation a certain spiritual value, a hidden moral value, not only the moral value of simpler living, but there is the moral value of stimulus to self-sacrifice.

Now, wars have such few compensations. They have no complete compensation. Every war must be a loss. And excepting for the primary necessity of preserving our independence and our institutions, there is only one compensation on the right side of the book, and that is a stimulus to self-sacrifice, a lifting of the ideals of the people.

Now, if we can spread any propaganda, if we can give any basis of service to the American people which creates that stimulation, we will have given to the American people some value from the war far and above the actual agreed saving which was effected for the moment. It is one of the greatest values of a voluntary effort to a population.

Now, those three great values, the actual results we must obtain for war purposes in so many tons of foods, the stimulus of saving generally as a measure of keeping up the tax of the war, and the uplift of the American people through some work to do, through actual sacrifice to the ends of the nation, are the basic reasons why we have placed food conservation on a voluntary basis.

Now, next year we are hoping for a large production. We

have every reason to believe that we will have—every evidence that comes to the Department of Agriculture and to ourselves indicates a wider scale of planting, a wider scale of production, than we have ever had before. On the other hand, with the gradual shortening of shipping, week by week and month by month, we may have to contemplate the complete isolation of the South American market. In that case the tax upon us again will be greater than even it has been during the past year; but in the increase of production, or even in the estimate of our normal production, I wish to assure you that there is a sufficient margin in the possibility of saving by the American people to carry out the entire war. It becomes purely a problem of whether we can carry it on on the basis on which we have set out, or whether we must adopt more drastic methods. I do not believe that that latter will be necessary. It certainly will not be necessary if we can secure a sufficient number of people who will carry that message in all of its aspects morning, noon and night to the American people; and that is why we are anxious to have your services.

# THE WORLD'S FOOD

By Alonzo E. Taylor,

*Head of the Division of Utilities and Research, United States Food Administration, and Member of Inter-Allied Conference*

Mr. Hoover stated in one sentence the purpose of the United States Food Administration, which is to feed the Allies and protect ourselves. I should like briefly, but I trust in a clear manner, to depict the actual food conditions of the Allies in order that the measure of our obligation may be fully realized.

We do not ordinarily look upon this as an obligation as critical and as essential as our obligations from the standpoint of military importance, but as the matter is viewed closely, it is apparent that it makes very little difference from the ultimate standpoint whether we ship a certain weight of wheat or a certain weight of explosives to Europe; it has a certain final importance in the trench and in the home of the man who is in the trench—just about the same standing and importance. Europe is producing less than its normal food supply for the simple reason that it is impossible to maintain even the most essential production on a normal plane when labor is deflected to the extent that in Europe has been made necessary.

We speak in this country of labor shortage. Ladies and gentlemen, we have not the faintest conception of labor shortage in this country yet. We do not know what the word means. We apparently have deflected from our industrial production, using the term in the broadest sense, or will have deflected at the time our forecasted draft is complete, about one-third of the men classified as engaged in gainful occupations under the census, and we have remaining two-thirds with which to maintain an inflated, and, from the standpoint of war conditions, supernormal standard of living. It is a fair comparative statement to say that they have deflected from their same standard of living, not one-third, but two-thirds of their effective productive forces, illustrating to what extremes the deflection has attained. We had apparently, if we were to apply the census calculations of 1914 to the population of 1917, engaged in agricultural labor at the outset of the war about fourteen million individuals, of whom

not more than a million and a half had families, and of whom the total man value in terms of labor was probably twelve millions. Of these, two hundred and four thousand were drafted, and an unknown number, possibly as many more, volunteered, and there were deflected into manufacturing activities probably as many as two millions more. In other words, the agricultural labor of this country has been reduced by entrance into the war, and participation in an industrial sense, about sixteen per cent. in number, and about twenty-five per cent. in effectiveness. And this represents the present condition of agriculture in the United States to-day. Deplorable enough, it is true, but when you go to France you will find that in place of having seventy-five per cent. of the male farmers occupied with agriculture, there are no males occupied with agriculture, except men over fifty-five or sixty years of age, and that over sixty-five per cent. of the entire work of agriculture is done by women. That is a fair statement of the comparative conditions there and here as applied to agriculture, and with equal force to almost every other domain of activities.

Under these conditions, deflection of labor has resulted in almost a paralysis of the production of fertilizer and of certain kinds of machinery, etc. Because we have insufficient labor, steel and coal, etc., cannot be exported from here, because we cannot manufacture enough for ourselves at present. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the production of Europe fell. Not only this, but, of course, acreage has been abandoned. It is not just a question of the women remaining in France as the tillers of the soil being able to maintain a fair percentage of output from a normal acreage. For besides the loss of acreage in northern France, there is the necessity of abandonment everywhere. There must be, because it is simply impossible for the forces of France to till the acreage of the pre-war figures.

This is equally true in Italy. It is not true in England to the same extent, because they have continued a campaign for an increase of acreage by turning their parks and estates in England under the operations, not of hand labor but of contractual processes, so they have increased the acreage of England devoted to grain. But they have lost in acreage in the allied nations for the reason that labor could not cover the acreage it normally had.

On top of this, there was a very heavy winter in the spring of 1917, extending all over Europe, killing the winter wheat of Russia, and this reflected itself upon the crops of the Allies for the reason that it applied more heavily to the southwest than to the north, and then, of course, as every practical farmer knows, the untoward influence of climatic conditions is more pro-

nounced on poor wheat than on good wheat. The imperfect cultivation of wheat could not withstand cold. The result was the crop was reduced to eight and six-tenths millions tons. The loss in Italy was not as great as in Great Britain. The loss in Great Britain was two-thirds of the expected result. This involved bread grains, as the bread grains were the only grains they had attempted to cultivate, because they had abandoned the cultivation of fodder grains on account of lack of labor. The result is that they became much more dependent on the other three areas of the world's food supplies than anticipated, and, of course, hoped for relief from those other sections of the world; and the first result of that was constant drawing upon the wheat supplies of the United States as being not only the shortest haul, but the haul that came in before the others were available. If you will take their present crop yields and calculate them into months, you will realize when they would have tapered off before the Argentine crops could have come in, because it is impossible to lift those crops before March 1. They drew upon their own crops therefore heavily in the winter months, and used our crops to tide over the hiatus until the more distant crops became available; and that accounts for the extreme need of Great Britain during the past three months and during the next two months.

Not only this, but of course they have lost in other directions. There used to be a rather large production of sugar in Italy and France. Sugar requires much labor, and also potassium, for successful cultivation. In peace times France and Italy imported this from Germany. Now they have none, and the result is the acreage has been reduced and the yield was also low. As a matter of fact both of these were sugar importing nations before the war. Great Britain was a very heavy importer of sugar before the war, importing it almost entirely from the countries who are now her enemies. She imported from Germany first, Siberia second, Russia third, and drew from the overseas sources later. Great Britain therefore was cut off from her supply, and compelled to seek it across the seas, because even when Russia was an active ally, she had ceased to be a supply of sugar. The result is the Allies find themselves compelled to import sugar from long distances or to go without. They have decided to do without. The sugar allowance in Italy is one pound to each person per month. Our normal consumption varies from seven to nine pounds per month in the different parts of our country, and represents the high sugar consumption of the world. Our Allies drastically refused their sugar ration, deeming it less essential than cereal to the bulk of their people.

Furthermore, their supplies in the direction of animal products has been also necessarily lowered because they never support their animals from their own soil, but import seed in large amounts from this country and elsewhere in the world—cotton seed, linseed, and other forms of cattle feed, there to be converted into dairy products and meats. They had cattle in excess of their ability to feed them. All of them they were feeding foods that were imported. This has become impossible with the scarcity of tonnage, and to-day with our Allies abroad not only is there a definite ration for each man, woman and child, but a definite ration for practically all domesticated animals, and they are divided into classes; and it is prescribed just what the horses shall receive, then the dairy cattle in proportion to the amount available, and after that a small amount left for sheep, etc., and the rest must be killed. That is the condition in the animal supplies of the Allied countries that has been necessarily produced by the cessation of importation of foodstuffs.

This illustrates the extreme reduction these people have placed upon themselves, and in these reductions they place their final dependence on cereals, the cheapest and most efficient form of foodstuffs, and these must come from the United States. They have taken into consideration the tonnage problem and reached the decision that the mainstay must be cereals, and their own cereal crop being short, they are dependent upon us, and this places on us the obligation and privilege of giving them the cereal in the denominated amounts. Now, of course, they used to import foodstuffs in other ways from the food-producing nations in Europe before the war—Holland and Denmark. Norway was always a food-importing nation, since she was a nation whose activities were largely directed to timbering, seafaring, and fishing. England was an importing nation and slightly exporting. Denmark was a heavy exporter of foodstuffs—per capita the heaviest in the world. Holland was a moderate exporter. Switzerland imported cereals and exported dairy products, all exported to our Allies largely, and in particular the people of the United Kingdom drew their meat and dairy supplies to large extent from these neutrals who had adopted a process of agriculture to suit the British tastes.

Now, these nations that maintained their food production also imported foodstuffs. In the year before our entrance into the war Denmark imported one and one-half million tons of concentrated foodstuffs from everywhere in the world, which they converted into beef and pork and sold particularly to the United Kingdom and Germany. Holland and Switzerland did the same. Under the present conditions, these nations are excluded by the

terms of the Presidential blockade from further participation in the feeding stocks of the world, in order that they might be no longer an aid in the feeding of the enemy, though the shutting off of this material carried also a reduction of food supplies to the Allies.

This illustrates again why the shortage in mixed dairy products exists in these countries, because they have been deprived of imported foodstuffs. We have excluded them by the terms of our blockade from maintaining feeding yards for our Allies. This again imposed upon us the more definite obligation to maintain the stocks, since it was our directions, though a military necessity, as an Ally, imposed upon us, that enforced upon them a certain reduction.

Now, fortunately, the sum total of these various obligations involving the food of our Allies does not place them near the danger line. It does not place them at all under conditions of jeopardy in connection with the normal available food supply of the United States; and especially if these food supplies are conserved in accordance with the Food Administration program, there is food enough in this country to maintain a normal quantity, if the game is played right, and still maintain the normal nutrition of our Allies despite their reduction of production, and despite the limitation of imports from the contiguous countries. There is enough there and here, if divided properly. We ought to regard the food supplies of our Allies and ourselves as divisible by two hundred and thirty-five millions, which is the combined population, and it ought to be the ideal of our citizens to see that every citizen in Italy, France and the United Kingdom has his proper share.

Not only this, but when we realize how much harder they are working in the mere sense of physical work, apart from the sacrifice of their lives; when we realize the ardor of combat, and when we realize their military situation, it ought to be our duty and privilege to give them more than their share and their pick in food.

Now, it is only fitting that we look into the food supplies of our enemy. They occupy a similar situation, short of labor, short of fertilizer—except potassium, which is not of value alone—short of implements, short of imported food; just as Belgium, Holland and Denmark, they have maintained a great stock of cattle and have imported stuff with which to feed them. They are now unable to maintain the nutrition of these animals and have killed them off, and the total dairy supplies of the enemy are reduced to a plane with the Allies. In all probability the total situation of foodstuffs in Germany is from now during

the next three months to be compared to that of 1917 during the same period of time, and in 1916 during the same period of time.

The food supplies of Germany are largely utilized after the following fashion: They obtain their statistics in the field and divide by twelve; set apart each of these for a month, and flatter themselves there will be one-twelfth for each month. They go on applying their rule to their population. But they can sell the foodstuffs to the wealthy at a high price, producing graft never seen in the world before. But they apply this in this way, one-twelfth to each month, etc., until they get to March, but then they discover they have only about enough for a week left, because they have not played the game and have sold in excess of the requirements. During each of these summers Germany has been compelled to tide over a very serious interval in one of two ways—through the establishment of the war gardens in 1916 and 1917, this contributing to tiding over until the food supplies could be secured in 1917. They were each time able to conquer a country to the east or south, that still contained foodstuffs, and by taking their crops that came to maturity a month or two before the northern countries of Germany, they were able to secure grain to tide them over. For example, they subsisted on grain from the eastern countries and from Serbia and from Roumania for a month during each of those years prior to the oncoming of their own crop. Now it is of course the hope of Germany that she can duplicate that performance this year from the crops of Russia, but there is good evidence that this cannot be so. We do not believe, and there is no evidence to indicate from the testimony of the competent business men returning now from Russia each week, that Germany will be able to find anywhere in Russia any material quantity of food supplies from the crop of 1917.

What shall be obtained from the new crop is a question for the future, but in any event there is apparently no basis for the hope on her part that she will be able during this summer to cover, as she has covered during the two past years, by extorting from a conquered people.

Under these circumstances, one may expect again that Germany will attempt the method that has largely aided her in the past, namely the establishment of war gardens; and this is a development in food production worthy of emulation by every nation, an extremely effective method of securing a large amount of food supplies when most needed. Germany unquestionably, during the months of July, August and September, during the years 1916 and 1917, covered a third of her food requirements by war gardens. Around every city in Germany the land for

six or seven miles is divided into little areas, and each household in the city of Berlin, for example, is assigned, if they have a woman or old man in the household, one of these little plots, and they have arranged the entire system of transportation to enable people to get out before the regular working hours and after the regular working hours and cultivate these plots; and all over Germany all of the vacant land by state decree has been cultivated in this way, and the war gardens thus become one of the regular items of program of operation for the securing of food.

In this country we have larger areas of vacant land around our towns not depleted, and on practically every American farm land untilled from the garden standpoint. If it is possible for Germany to cover her needs during a period of stress, it is more easily possible for the United States similarly, through forcing of the war garden movement, to develop foodstuffs which will from the standpoint of our national population and needs express a larger figure than in Germany. This is of particular importance now, because every calory of wheat that can be substituted by vegetables makes the dependence of our people upon substitute cereals during this period of time that much less acute. Properly figured, we have about six pounds of wheat flour per month for the balance of the crop, which means we must increase that from four to five pounds for oats, rice, barley, corn, up to thirteen or fourteen pounds per month. Now, if it be a burden to increase the consumption of substitute cereals up to this amount, the easiest way to reduce the burden is to raise vegetables in gardens and substitute them for the substitute cereals, and thus make the transportation of wheat abroad greater during this period of time and also render more easy our own program of substitution. And if there ever were a situation that called upon all the population, men, women and children, in a way that is easily within the power of every one of them, to exert a force directly applicable to the nutrition of our own people and the Allies, it is in the development of the war garden; and from every point of view, from the international point of view just as from the national point of view, it is to be commended and urged that every force in every state in the United States be utilized in this way.

The larger view as to the food and as to the relation of food supplies to tonnage is one of course that depends almost entirely upon climatic conditions. It is easily to be hoped for on the basis of the present crop prospect in this country and abroad, and on the basis of the present tonnage prospects in this country and abroad, that with each succeeding month after the incoming

of the new crop, the food pressure may become lighter in a direct sense, and provide with greater facility for the lightening of tonnage. This means the American people would be afforded the maximum opportunity for military participation in the war in the direct sense, without in the least lowering the necessity and the opportunity for participation in the indirect sense, through food conservation. It simply means that here as everywhere else in any of the nations at war, the point of stress shifts, and in a particular period of a year it may be upon food here, or it may be upon another commodity here, to shift back and forth.

Now, the point that the American people must visualize and absolutely burn in their heart of hearts is the realization that all these manifestations are military factors. We must realize that the food program is just as much a military factor as the nitrate program or the fuel program or the ship tonnage program. They are all of great importance, and they have just as vital a military meaning as anything else. Every American must realize that the entire series of war processes are the chains that extend from the humblest American citizens, men, women and children, to the men in the trench along the battle lines of France; that this series of processes is an endless chain, the entire length of which is no stronger than the weakest link—food, ships, or any other thing, but the entire chain is a continuous series of war processes, and the individual who has it in his power always to serve as a link in the chain of food conservation is just as essenital a military agent or unit as the man who is casting shells or the woman who is knitting shawls, or the boy firing the shells.

Only from this point of view does the food supply of our Allies in Europe have any meaning for us, and only from this point of view does the food conservation of the American people have for them the meaning which history has given us the privilege of fulfilling.

# FACTORS IN FUTURE COSTS AND PRICES

By Herbert A. Emerson,

*Expert in the Production and Prices of Food*

It is a great pleasure to be here this afternoon with you in this capital city in the greatest country that the sun shines on, the country of our birth and the country of our pride. These are trying days for America, but when it was my pleasure to visit the other side one year ago I found that we here had every reason to be extremely happy, that conditions were so much better here than they were on the other side of the ocean. And yet it gives me great pleasure to tell you that in old England one scarcely realized a year ago last December that a world war was on. Times have not grown better abroad; times have grown harder as the war has progressed.

And now your chairman has asked me to tell somewhat how I look at the situation from a practical business standpoint, concerning the feeding, not only of the folks abroad and the armies abroad, but of our own people here in the homeland.

The people of this country have every reason to be a very optimistic people. The great development of these United States in the past forty or fifty years has left very little room for pessimists. This country's development has been such that the farmer folk of this country, if they are provided with good markets and a fair market price, can produce not only all the food stuffs that we need at home, but an abundance to ship to our soldier boys and the civilians of all Europe, whether they be at war or whether they be in times of peace.

It is a pleasure to speak this afternoon from the same platform with that most excellent leader and this most excellent man whom the President has named at the head of the food business of this country—Mr. Hoover. We people in the food business, and it has been my business for a lifetime—at the present time I have directly under me one hundred and fifty food stores located in New York City and the city of Chicago, and these stores give us a very fine line on what is going on in food distributing business, know that the people of the United States have cut out luxuries. We find that these stores

are not moving luxuries and that the people have settled down to necessities, and while at the first there was a general feeling that it was a hardship to buy wheat flour and to be forced to take a substitute with it, we find bitter complaint now if a single merchant in one of these stores does furnish wheat flour without forcing the taking of a substitute with it. The people of the United States are anxious and willing to do their bit. As regards what we may do during the coming summer there is but one way for us to judge the future, and that is by the past.

This country of ours has developed so rapidly that we in the business heretofore have never feared a shortage. It was always a question of a surplus. The farmer folk of this country have felt they produced so much food stuff that many times tons of food stuffs were rotting on the farms; while the people in the cities have often felt the so-called middle men or dealers in these food stuffs were taking an advantage of them and charging them an excessive price for them.

At the present time prices have been regulated somewhat from Washington. No great hardship has been put upon anybody. An extremely low price has not been laid upon any food stuff. The price for wheat is large enough to encourage the farmer to go ahead and produce, not just as much as he has in the past, but a great deal more. And when you have read the reports of the coming wheat crop for the coming winter, I am sure every American heart and the heart of every ally have been given a great joy, for the prospects are for a much larger crop this year than for the year preceding.

But if it were for a shorter crop we would not tremble with fear; we have found that we can use the substitutes. We have found that the bakers can bake a most excellent bread out of a mixture which they did not make a year ago. And even if it were a lesser crop, the people of these United States would manage somehow to send a larger amount of wheat and food stuffs to the soldier boys and allies on the other side! There is no particular necessity for wheat here.

There is the general anxiety that we eliminate waste. Mr. Hoover, and the most excellent men that he has gathered about him, have taken every opportunity to teach us thrift, to teach us to sacrifice, to teach us to save these food stuffs, so that the surplus may be large.

Our good friend, the chairman of this meeting, the man who has done so much to bring you educators and you lecturers together, that you may go out and do the work here in the United States that that great leader, Henry Ward Beecher, did over in

England during the Civil War, comes from a state that has been crying for—not so much for production, as for a market that would justify California going ahead and producing all the food stuffs that she possibly could. The greatest development perhaps in the country, in a small way, that has taken place for many years is in the Imperial Valley, in the southern part of California. This marvelous country, brought into full production through irrigation, has shown us the possibility of the desert land of that flower of the country; the citrus fruit country has never hesitated to produce all of the food that was wanted.

Our good friend, Mr. Poole, now with Mr. Hoover, for years has been studying, not how to produce more food stuffs in that country, but how to find an adequate market for that produced; and it will continue thus for a long, long time to come.

As you go on further north up into the wheat country of the San José Valley, there has never been a great effort to cultivate every acre, but rather the question has been, how much can we market of these food stuffs we are raising up here? Raisins got badly frozen, and also the wheat further north, and the deciduous fruits in the Sacramento Valley. We have had the problem of finding markets to justify us to urge more farmers to go to California and produce more food stuffs. It is only two or three years ago that the dried fruit prices were so low that they would not bring the freight and price of package to New York City.

When Germany was closed as an export country, it threw nearly all these on the home market, which has never been a great consumer of dried fruit such as Germany always was. And Germany was looking forward, as she has been since 1871, to this war, to this time when she would go out and rob her neighbor countries of their wealth; when she would destroy their factories and their industries of every kind; when she would become the dominant factor in all the commercial world; when she would hold by the throat all of her neighbors in every commercial enterprise in which they might wish to enter. She has always conserved and saved with that object in view, remembering that Bismarck went to Paris in 1871, and came back with a billion dollars in gold—fifty carloads they had; and waited for the time when they might strike an unprepared France, an unprepared England, an unprepared Russia, an unprepared Italy, and, worst of all, an unprepared United States, and not rob them of a billion dollars, but rob them of ten times a billion dollars, and rob them of every opportunity of commercial success in the

future, except under the domination of the most unscrupulous robber nation that has ever been on the face of the earth—the Huns of Germany.

We are looking forward, up in the northwest country, in Oregon and Washington, where production has only just begun. On north, across the line in British America, up in Canada, we find a great undeveloped, unproductive country—Canada, with more acreage than we have here in the United States. She only has about eight millions of people, but, oh, they are God's people! They are the best people that the sun shines on. I say it with a personal pride, for my mother was born in Canada. These splendid people up there have sent already six hundred thousand soldiers out of eight million people to fight our fight across the sea. When we people of these United States have done as well, we will have sent across the sea ten million soldiers and sailors to fight for the freedom of all the people of all the world. And before we allow the Huns to dominate the commercial world, to dominate the religious thought, to dominate the political energy, to dominate with the iron hand of militarism every other people under the sun, we will send not only ten million men, but ten million more with them to help them whip the Beast.

And this land of Canada, away up in the Saskatchewan country, away up in Calgary, away up in the Prince Albert country, oh, oh! you have not yet begun to develop that country! The little wheat they are producing is a mere trifle to what she can produce. In fifty years Canada, if she develops as we believe she will, will have nearly as many people as we have in the United States, if not quite as many. She will be ready to export one hundred times the amount of food stuffs that she is now exporting. And then when we come back into our own land, in the Dakotas, Minnesota, West Iowa, Nebraska and Kansas, and on down into Oklahoma and Texas, we begin to realize how little we have developed our own country, and that the food means more and more to these United States as time goes on.

We want men of vision; we want men to look always to this great agricultural development of this country and to the great commercial development of this country, just as Mr. Van Horn and other great men have looked forward to the railroad development. In years gone by they dreamed their dreams, and then James J. Hill and Mr. Van Horn, of Canada, went forward to work out their dreams, and by the assistance of the splendid people of the northland on the lines they were building, they have developed the greatest railroad system of the world, here

in North America, the youngest and best developed continent of them all.

When that time comes that states like Iowa and Illinois have intensified farming such as Denmark, Belgium and Germany had prior to the war, those states will produce alone six times as much food stuffs as ever before, and this development will take place.

The manhood and womanhood of this country are just beginning to get over the effects of overproduction. It is only a few short years ago when the meanest thing one could say was that some one was "as poor as a Kansas farmer." But, oh, this marvelous state of Kansas that two years ago produced one hundred and eighty-five million bushels of winter wheat! So hard up for a long time that they adopted prohibition a long time before a lot of us quit drinking! High schools—more than any other state in the Union! And they gave the women a chance to vote before the others! And I am pleased to say they have never regretted that they adopted prohibition and gave the women the right to vote and express their womanhood! Kansas has only begun to develop. Just a little while ago from Hutchinson on it was a desert. To-day it is a paradise. They had hot winds and grasshoppers, but they stayed with the fight and to-day they stand preëminent, close to the head of the list of all the agricultural states of this Union. They have as many loyal Americans per capita in that western country as in any other state in the Union, or any other country of all the world.

As we come on to the eastern part of this country, we find here and there abandoned farm lands. Over in New York where I live now, much of the land has gone backward. Many farmers there have centralized their efforts in the production of milk. For a long time the companies had it much in their own hands. The farmers—many of them—felt they needed a leader to organize and lead them in an effort for a better condition. But now all of these facts that have been moving forward to help laboring people will be utilized to help the agricultural interests of the country, if necessary.

But the farmer has been a highly intelligent individual. The rural delivery has brought him his papers, almost daily. There is nothing new said upon which he is not as well posted as the city man. No longer is he "the man with the hoe." He rides in an automobile. McCormick and Deering and others have invented labor saving machinery to help the farmer do his work expeditiously and well, the work that his forefathers had to do by hand. When one stops to think it is only about fifty years ago that people used the cradle, and that they could use that cradle

on only a few acres each year, he sees that the wheat crop of this country could never have been large necessarily until better machinery could be invented for harvesting. Then they begin to realize the great change a few short years has brought about, the wonderful improvement in agricultural methods.

And then when one studies the situation abroad and feels that over there in Russia and Siberia they have black land and climatic conditions such that they could raise the most magnificent crops thereon, with a territory equal to eleven states as large as the state of Iowa, and equally as good for the production of grain, then they begin to realize what Russia will do in the future. Russia has her opportunity, but she has not her choice. Russia must either be led in the future by the American and English speaking people, the people of France and of Italy, led into the new life, led into a position where there is a little red house on nearly every section of land in the country, or else be controlled by the iron hand of Germany, placed upon her commercial throat. And if Germany were to be successful in this war—as she will not be—Russia would be one hundred years set back from what she will be when the Allies have won the war—as they *will*—and in much quicker time than most of you think they will.

This constant shortening up in Russia and Siberia has been a great blow to the German people in the food stuff line. The year following the war Russia and Siberia produced only about sixty-five per cent. of the dairy products that they had in the year previous to the war; in the following year forty per cent. of what they produced in the first year of the war; and at the present time they are producing no surplus, nor anywhere near what they need for their own requirements.

What Germany got when she went over to Russia was a great land filled with an ignorant people who had no thought of their obligations, not equipped with great elevators as the United States, but without any elevators or cold storage plants as we have here in the United States. And now we are awake to the fact that with all our development during the forty years we have had refrigeration, we are still forty years behind what we should be in preparedness to take care of the surplus food stuffs in seasons of plenty as against those of scarcity, which will occasionally come. The building of these great industries in Russia will be one of the coming enterprises after the war is over.

The rehabilitation of those far away lands leads us to think of what we may do with our products in this country of ours. These returning soldiers by the tens of thousands that are to settle in Canada and the United States on the western land

and the irrigated lands will tell the story of what the food development will be. We will see this country move forward after the war much more rapidly in a commercial way than ever before. It is an old adage, and a very true one, that money has much to do with development. The people in the United States must advertise it. They must get a man like Mr. Flowers to advertise for them. We must have our wares on sale in every one of the South American Republics. We must be in the market for the surplus food stuffs and the other desirable articles in those republics. We are naturally a trading people. We must be in the future a seafaring people. We must not depend entirely upon the Norwegian and Scandinavian sailors, but we ourselves will find these boys who are fighting on the other side at present are not coming home to keep a stool warm in a bank. They have red corpuscles in their blood, and they have left mother and father and gone far off. They are coming back filled with energy and ambition. They are going to travel into all the different countries of the world. American food stuffs will be on sale in every market in the world. Our educators and our platform speakers will be speaking in all countries in the world. Australia and New Zealand will be as near to us after the war is over as is California to New York City at the present time. People get into the habit of traveling, and when they do they want to eat the same thing everywhere that they were accustomed to eat at home. The people of the whole world will no longer be satisfied with limberger and sauerkraut after the Kaiser is whipped. They will want good food the same as we people in the United States are accustomed to, and we will furnish it to them.

There are some people in those far-away lands who have felt the grip of Germany for many years. The states lying back of Germany have had to cross Germany with their food stuffs. They have never had an open market. The forty-five millions of people in Great Britain have depended on Russia and Siberia for dairy products in the past. In the future they must look to the country still having dairy cows to produce this stuff, and to the country that has the intelligence to produce the surplus food stuffs they need, and that's the United States. They will not go to the Argentine, for there are not enough people down there. They will not apply to Africa and the colonies there, for there are not enough people in those places. They cannot go to Australia and New Zealand, for these countries have been bled white of their manhood and womanhood with this war. No one has given of its man power so much as have Australia and New Zealand. These lands that were furnishing so much of the dairy products, butter and cheese, going to Eng-

land previous to the war, have been almost wiped out of the world's markets. The fact that they are six weeks by boat from the London market is a great, great thing for them to overcome. It is a great, great advantage for us of America that we are only from a week to ten days from London market.

England, through necessity, has come to look upon the United States as her food supply and store house, and we share with her, sacrificing and giving her food now, but it is only a short time till we will be advising and urging her to take much more than we now send.

We Americans are never willing to sit still. We are going forward. We are going to bring the Russian people to our side through kindness and education. Germany wants to bring them under her influence and to slavery with militarism and absolute cruelty.

No American will ever say that he is satisfied until the work of Grant at Appomattox has been repeated, and Germany has unconditionally surrendered to the people of the United States and her Allies abroad!

# THE FOUR MINUTE MEN

By Bertram G. Nelson,

*Associate Director of the Four Minute Men*

The Four Minute Men gladly avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by your gracious invitation, to present to you their work. They consider it of importance that you, who are expert in the shaping of public opinion by means of the spoken word, who touch the lives of so many communities, and touch them at such vital points, should know the nature, purpose, and method of our organization.

There are a surprisingly large number of people in every community who do not read; there are others who read no English; and a still larger number who read nothing but the headlines. The most enthusiastic, patriotic meetings get together 5,000 people in a city of 500,000; for every one who goes and thrills and applauds there are five hundred who stay at home, passive and ofttimes indifferent. These silent ones eat sugar, bacon and wheat; their vacant minds become the ready recipient of German lies; their tongues become the ready transmitters of German propaganda; their grumblings are heard by the quick ear of the politician; they are ofttimes "the menace within the walls." Yet their sons must help do the fighting; their minds, wills, and hearts must become attuned to our national purposes.

How can we reach them? Not through the press, for they do not read; not through patriotic rallies, for they do not come. Every night eight to ten million people of all classes, all degrees of intelligence, black and white, young and old, rich and poor, meet in the moving picture houses of this country, and among them are many of these silent ones who do not read or attend meetings, but who must be reached.

Early in the war a group of young business men in Chicago under the leadership of Donald Ryerson, now an Ensign in the United States Navy, conceived of the idea of making this great democratic meeting place of the people an instrument for patriotic education. The Four Minute Men came into being as a local Chicago organization before the outbreak of the war. On June 16, 1917, the Four Minute Men were taken over by the

National Government and made a division of the Bureau on Public Information. So rapidly did the work grow that early in November President Wilson addressed the organization as follows:

"The White House,
Washington,
November 9, 1917.

*To the Fifteen Thousand Four-Minute Men of the United States:*

May I not express my real interest in the vigorous and intelligent work your organization is doing in connection with the Committee on Public Information? It is surely a matter worthy of sincere appreciation that a body of thoughtful citizens, with the hearty coöperation of the managers of moving picture theaters, are engaged in the presentation and discussion of the purposes and measures of these critical days.

Men and nations are at their worst or at their best in any great struggle. The spoken word may light the fires of passion and unreason or it may inspire to highest action and noblest sacrifice a nation of freemen. Upon you Four-Minute Men, who are charged with a special duty and enjoy a special privilege in the command of your audiences, will rest, in a considerable degree, the task of arousing and informing the great body of our people so that when the record of these days is complete we shall read page for page with the deeds of army and navy the story of the unity, the spirit of sacrifice, the unceasing labors, the high courage of the men and women at home who held unbroken the inner lines. My best wishes and continuing interest are with you in your work as part of the reserve officer corps in a nation thrice armed because through your efforts it knows better the justice of its cause and the value of what it defends.

Cordially and sincerely yours,
(Signed) WOODROW WILSON."

To-day, at the end of ten months, within two months of the first birthday, there are 30,000 Four Minute Men scattered through every state in the Union, Alaska, Hawaii, Philippine Islands, Porto Rico and the Canal Zone. The organization is built upon three fundamental ideas: 1. The ready-made audience; 2. A volunteer local speaker; 3. Direction from Washington.

I need not tell this audience how important a factor an audience is. During the Second Liberty Loan Campaign I was connected with the Public Speaking Bureau of the Seventh District.

We found it was no difficulty to get speakers, but it was very difficult to get audiences to listen to them. On the twelfth of February I was sent by a certain organization to address "a large, patriotic mass-meeting," at a point 300 miles distant from my home. I traveled all night, waited at the hotel all day, caught a train back at two o'clock in the morning, arriving late for my daily duties, and addressed sixty-five people. That same night, one block away, the local Four Minute Man, who left home after dinner, traveled less than a mile, was away from home less than an hour, spoke to 1,200 people. I appreciated what President Wilson meant when he said to the Four Minute Men that they "enjoyed a special privilege in the command of their audiences." The public speaking men know that every night there is an audience of eight to ten million people awaiting their message in the movie theatres of this country. For the privilege of this ready made audience we are entirely indebted to the movie theatre managers, who have been both courteous and patriotic in their coöperation with our organization.

A letter from a theatre owner, written in Italian, was received the other day by the Committee. The translation in part is this:

"I put my theatre completely at your disposal for the whole time it may suit you. In the endeavor to combat the common enemy I am ready to do everything. You may feel that you can command me."

This spirit is typical.

From the nature of our audiences and the fact that we exist by courtesy of the movie theatre manager a rather arbitrary time limit is fixed, and yet we find that four minutes is enough to deliver a patriotic message; it is not a great tax upon the audience; nor does it seriously disarrange the theatre manager's program.

There are two ways of reaching a community through the spoken word—either by sending speakers from the outside (the method which is followed by the Public Speaking Bureau of the Committee on Public Information), or by using volunteer local speakers (the method followed by the Four Minute Men organization).

These 30,000 local volunteer speakers are under a military organization. At the head is the National Director, Mr. William McCormick Blair, and directly under him are the Associate Directors, who have charge of large sections of the country, and under these the State Chairmen, who in turn have authority over the local chairmen in each community, under whom the Four Minute Men operate.

The topics spoken upon by Four Minute Men are matters of national importance connected with the war plans of the government. They are assigned to the speakers, by the Director in Washington, for a given period of time, usually from one to four weeks. The topic to be used at any given time is determined by a consideration of what is uppermost at the time, and represents an agreement between the Director of the Four Minute Men and the various government authorities who may be concerned.

At the beginning of each new topic a Bulletin of Instructions is issued, and sent to the Chairmen, in quantities to cover the list of speakers. These Bulletins are immediately distributed to the speakers in ample time to allow for thorough preparation. Accompanying the Bulletin of Instructions is a Budget of Material containing the facts necessary for the preparation of an effective speech upon the topic, and an outline of the essential points which the speaker is expected to establish in the minds of his audience.

Many people get the idea that the Four Minute organization is operative only during the Liberty Loan campaigns and Red Cross drives. As a matter of fact, the organization is always on duty and has during the last ten months conducted nineteen distinct campaigns, such, for instance, as

The Liberty Loan.....May 22 to June 15, 1917
The Red Cross Hundred Million Dollar Campaign,
June 18 to June 25,
Food Conservation .....July 1 to July 14,
Why We Are Fighting.....July 23 to Aug. 5,
The Nation in Arms.....Aug. 6 to Aug. 26,
What Our Enemy Really Is.....Aug. 26 to Sept. 23,
supplementary
Onward to Victory.....Sept. 24 to Oct. 7,
The Second Liberty Loan of 1917.....Oct. 8 to Oct. 28,
The Food Pledge Card Campaign.....Oct. 29 to Nov. 4,
Maintaining Morals and Morale.....Nov. 12 to Nov. 25,
Carrying the Message.....Nov. 27 to Dec. 22,
War Savings Stamps.....Jan. 2 to Jan. 19, 1918
The Shipbuilder (securing recruits).....Jan. 28 to Feb. 9,
Eyes for the Navy (requests for binoculars, etc.)..Feb. 11 to Feb. 16,
Danger to Democracy.....Feb. 18 to Mar. 11
Income Tax .....Mar. 11 to Mar. 23
Farm and Garden .....Mar. 25 to Mar. 30
Theatre Bulletin .....Apr. 1 to Apr. 6,
Third Liberty Loan.....Apr. 6 to May 4,

Sixty thousand (60,000) of these Bulletins are ordinarily distributed, and of the Third Liberty Loan Campaign Bulletin over 120,000 copies have been distributed.

While our first duty is to the movie audience, in many communities which are not furnished with movie theaters we have turned to churches, schools, lodges, farm sales, fairs, picnics, and commencement exercises, as convenient places to reach the public.

Another development has been the work with the military and navy camps. Special bulletins are issued for the officers in these camps to use as the basis of lectures to their men.

One of the most promising phases of our work is the Junior Four Minute Men. Special bulletins are prepared on patriotic subjects for the use of teachers in conducting speaking contests among the pupils. A million and a half bulletins were so distributed in the War Savings Stamp campaign. The object is not only to enlist the young enthusiasm of the student, but through him to reach into the home and touch the life of the parent.

The Four Minute Men organization, viewed from the Bulletin activity, is one of the largest correspondence schools. From the point of view of its speaking activities, it is doubtless the greatest impetus toward direct and effective public speech that this country has ever known. These, however, are but by-products. The immediate purpose of the organization is in the words of President Wilson, "to arouse and inform the great body of our people."

# THE SCHOOL GARDEN ARMY

By John H. Francis,

*Director United States School Garden Army, Department of the Interior*

The United States School Garden Army has for its purpose increased food production. Its form of organization is military, although it is democratic in its character. It proposes to organize the school children of America into an army, largely in the cities, towns and villages, that will work the front yards and the back yards and the vacant lots, before school, after school and during the summer months. It has its first lieutenant, its second lieutenant, and its captain, chosen from the boys and the girls. It is proposed that one teacher be assigned to each 150 pupils, and that her duty will consist largely in gathering her company together, instructing them, especially in going to their homes and supervising the home gardens, for emphasis is to be placed upon the home garden. There are other organizations at work along similar lines. They have been doing good work and are doing excellent work now. The garden army, however, is a school organization, and it can reach and must reach millions of boys and girls who have heretofore not been reached. For with all the excellence of the other organizations, they are not school organizations, and the boys and girls of the city have not been given a chance to occupy their time in the summer months in some legitimate and profitable way.

There are five regional directors, one for the northeast, one for the south, one for the middle west, one for the southwest, and one for the far west. It is their duty to write bulletins on gardening and send them out. There will be more than a million and a half of them sent to garden teachers, which will give them technical information on how to garden, when to plant and how to cultivate.

The immediate purpose, however, is only one of the purposes. We live in a military time. I listened with rapt attention to the speakers before me, the four-minute speakers, the fifty-minute speakers, and far-away speakers, putting before the people the most wonderful things that the world has ever thought of,

and they do it well. But in it all I have yet to hear very much talk about the child. If we are to fight Germany, we will have to fight Germany as she fights the civilized world, through the child. The reason Germany to-day makes the world tremble in fear is because fifty years ago she was the first and practically the only nation to recognize the fact that all great things are worked out, not through men and women, but through children, and she began the preparation of her children for the wrong thing—but she succeeded. And if America to-day is to meet the situation, she will arouse herself from her lethargy to the startling fact that this war, like every other war, will be won, not on the battle fronts altogether, nor mostly, but through the schools and in the homes, with the children. And when we can link up the children and get them to participate in this great world struggle and become a part of it, to get under its pretense, then our civilization must become safe. Our schools have not been vitalized sufficiently to disturb any of the rights of the country, vested or otherwise. But the school garden army gives an opportunity to lead these children into participation with things in addition to information about things. And after all, participation is worth five thousand times as much as information, and information is valuable only as it helps us to participate.

One thing we need to do is to get the children to participate in the homes and in the schools and in society.

Another most significant phase of it is that it will give our children something to do in the summer time. Do you know that this nation faces her greatest danger right now in the unoccupied time of our boys and girls in the cities? The greatest weakness that this nation has to-day lies in the fact that there are two, or three or four long summer months with nothing to do in our great cities. And the third thing that is to come from this movement is that the cities, with their crowded conditions, have millions of the best potential farmers in the world who will never be good for anything because they will never have a chance to discover themselves on the farm, on the soil. We have been talking about and writing about back to the country, back to the farm. We will never get the city back to the farm until we give the boys and girls in the city a chance to discover their powers and their liking for the soil.

And so out of the great war chaos of the world, out of the unthinkable struggle that we cannot escape, we have to recognize that we are fighting a nation that has achieved because she understood the importance of the child, and that if we achieve the things that we in our form of civilization ought to achieve, it will be when we are awake, much more than we are now

awake, to the problem that the child is the key-note to the situation, and that we must give the child a chance and study it. For the problems that come after the war will be just as serious as the problems to-day, and it is with the child that we must leave the responsibility of solving these problems. And the school course, along with the shops and the home economics and the other vitalizing influences that are fortunately coming into the schools, too slowly to be sure, must be the preparation for the child to do the thing that he can do best and best loves to do. We are coming to a new definition of education, a new conception of it, and it will be that every child has possibilities in something, and the problem is to find the thing in which he has possibilities and give him a chance to develop that and not determine his education by his academic achievements.

# THE SPEAKING DIVISION, COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION

By Arthur E. Bestor,

*Director of the Division*

The Speaking Division of the Committee on Public Information has had certain tasks submitted to it in the making of public opinion, and I do not need to say in this presence how very important the mobilization of public opinion is, except to point out that upon the enthusiastic loyalty of the entire body of our population depends the morale which everybody is insisting —our friends from across the sea are insisting—is the determining factor with respect to the war.

Many of you have been of very great service to the various speaking divisions and the various public opinion-making divisions in Washington, and I have emphasized, on every possible occasion, in connection with the plans of the government, that during the summer time, particularly from April to September, there are no audiences in the country that can be reached as effectively as those you are already reaching; that the government does not need to do very much during the summer time in direct propaganda, because the delegates who have come here to this conference, and others who have not been able to come, are going to give the patriotic messages to the people of the United States through the 6,000 Chautauqua audiences gathered together, used to hearing these messages, and ready to hear what the government has to say. And about all we can do here—the Food Administration, the Committee on Public Information, or any other of these great governmental agencies—the best thing we can do is to put into your hands the material which is necessary for you to have, and leave our speaking campaigns to you in the Chautauquas during the summer. The Lyceum is only one agency of many that will be employed during the rest of the year. We have all considered, and I think increasingly—all the men in Washington holding positions of authority—that the morale of the American people will be well kept up by the Chautauqua speakers who go from community to community, and that the thing that needs to be done is simply that we give to you and those

associated with you, those who are not here, that kind of information. And I am going to leave it, therefore, to my colleague on the Committee, Professor Ford, who has been the editor of all of the Committee's pamphlets and who has done such magnificent work in putting in black and white the material that all of us are using constantly, to tell you how the Committee on Public Information can coöperate with the Lyceum and Chautauqua workers of the country.

# THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION

By Guy Stanton Ford,

*Head of the Department*

We have before us the question of studying and holding the morale and the intelligence of this nation, not only in the present crisis, but in the coming crisis, and, fundamentally, this Committee on Public Information, in all that it has done, not only through my division, but through every other division, has gone on the single and sole principle that the soundest basis upon which public morale and public patriotism can be based is full information. And we have labored for no other purpose in this committee, and in everything that we have put out, than to tell the simple, plain, exact truth; and wherever in any way we have failed, it is not because every effort has not been made upon our part.

In my own division, the scholarship of the United States—it is no part of my work; I have not done it—the scholarship of the United States has put itself at my disposal, and has given me the benefit of work such as no other government has had in the preparation of its publications. And the United States government has done in this field what no other government has done without any instrumentality, without any preparation, without any avenues by which the hundreds of millions of people in the country could be reached through known machinery. The Committee on Public Information had to build up its own machinery, find its own avenues, and create its own media of communication. It had to be organized at once, so the government could pass out any information and study the effect on the nerves of the nation.

In England the situation was somewhat similar to ours, in a want of preparation, but there instead of its being mainly directed, as you know, through government agencies, it was handled through some other agency working through some other name.

The United States Government has come out directly in its own name, and stated its own case, and put it fairly before the people, in the profound conviction that if the country knows, the country will not simply placidly say, "We are in it; we will see

it through," but that they will say, "We are in it, and we ought to be in it, and we will stay in it until the thing which we have undertaken is done!"

That is all the Committee on Public Information is here for, and so far as my division is concerned the pamphlets and books and material that have been prepared are there at your disposal. It is you who have the opportunity that we here in Washington will not have. Before this summer is over you are going to face situations which you alone can control through the spoken word, for I have no illusions concerning the power of the printed word over the word spoken to audiences. The steady assurance that can come from your lips, as from no other source, is going to carry this country through, I hope, not only with a firm faith in its cause, but with a thorough conviction that the war is being successfully conducted, and with a strong belief in the ultimate purposes of the government and of its officials, and with a firm faith in the righteousness of our cause.

We have published three series of pamphlets. Some of those have already gone to you. The three series have consisted of the Red, White and Blue Series, the War Information Series, and the new Loyalty Leaflets. These now bring us to a bibliography of something over thirty pamphlets, many of which have gone into various languages.

We who started this work with no conception of what this thing would grow into printed to begin with 20,000 editions; but we are now printing editions running up into the millions. And that is our proof to anybody—I do not care whom he may be, what carping critic—that our government is trying to do its work with regard to public information thoroughly.

And when you have fathers and mothers, soldiers in the camps, citizens from everywhere, writing in and saying, "Let us have this information or that, we want to know more about the American Cause in order that we may meet criticism and answer arguments that may be advanced"—when these come into our office, as they do now, in individual requests of from 20,000 to 30,000 a day, and our distribution per month runs into millions, can anybody say there is not a place in the war work for the Committee on Public Information in regard to the preparation of this material?

If in any way, through you, this material becomes alive through the spoken word, then we shall be very, very happy. We ask you to be prepared with the facts, theories, arguments, to bring the American Cause home to the hearts of the people. Mere emotional appeals are not going to hold us steady, but the facts, when known, will; and the motives and the ideals behind

this great conflict will have a potent influence in enlisting the sympathies of the people. The more clearly you can see this crusade, these issues, and all the facts back of them, the better prepared you will be to do what life will never give you another such opportunity to do as long as you live; and this is your opportunity, as it is the opportunity of every man who in any way reaches a public audience through the printed word or the spoken word. And so far as we can uphold your hands and help you in any way, we are at your disposal. If you will tell your audiences this summer about this material, and tell them that if they are meeting difficulties in answering arguments, here is the material carefully prepared and distributed practically free, free with the exception of one or two pamphlets, to any citizen of the United States, you will have done for us, for yourselves, and for our common cause some real service.

# WHAT WE MUST DO TO WIN THE WAR

By Frederick A. Delano,

*Member of the Federal Reserve Board, and Vice-Chairman of the War Savings Committee*

I have just come back from a trip in Ohio and Michigan in connection with the Liberty Loan campaign, and I was impressed with a few things. One of them is that in the smaller towns where you get away from the great newspapers and the big meetings that stir up people's enthusiasm, there are a great many good folks who really have not an appreciation of what is going on. I am impressed with the truth of the old saying that large bodies move slowly; that in a country of the area of the United States and with a hundred and ten million inhabitants, it is to be expected that it takes a long time to get people aroused to the seriousness of the problem before us.

In speaking to some of those small communities and calling their attention to the tremendous battle that is now going on, the greatest battle of Christendom, the battle which makes Waterloo and Gettysburg and battles that we used to think were great seem like little skirmishes, I found that the thing that interests people most is drawing to their attention the salient facts for which we are fighting. Others have well expressed many of those facts, and I will not try to repeat them; but when we go back nearly four years to when this European war began and think of the beginnings of it—how it began with the savage demands on little Serbia, a country about the size of the State of Illinois, with a population of four or five million people, who were faced with a demand which no self-respecting people, even if they were small in population and in resources, could accept—I say, when we think of that as the beginning, and then think of the next scene of the drama, the march of the German army across Belgium, when Belgium with her little army of forty-five thousand men threw that army into the breach and said to the great imperial forces of Germany, "You can not cross here!"—and then when we think of the other scenes in that drama, and finally our own entrance into this terrific war, it is beginning, with every week and every month and every year of its development, to mean more

to us and we begin to see more truly than ever that we are fighting for the principles which our forefathers endeavored to establish in this country, and which, as Mr. Post has truly said, are not final, but are a constant development. Now I say we all realize, those of us who have been close to the problem from the first, that it means a good deal for us who can't do the fighting, for us who have stayed at home—it means that we must do our share. I can't tell you all, but I will endeavor to tell you some of the things that we can do.

The military men with whom I have talked and of whom I have read seem to agree on one thing: that it is a matter of hurry, hurry, hurry. We have got to get things done. We can not wait and talk about getting the best thing always, but we have got to accomplish something at once. You perhaps remember the semi-humorous aphorism of General Lyon of the Civil War. He was a great Southern cavalry general. He said winning a battle was "getting there firstest with the mostest." Now, if we had been on the other side in large numbers and well equipped when this terrible battle broke, we might have ended this war by now. It looks now as if it might last quite a good while longer, and as though we would have to throw quite a good many more men into the balance. Now, what those of us at home must do is obviously to support the men who are at the front.

Mr. Hoover has told you how much will be required in the way of saving food. I am interested particularly in the saving of money. The saving of money, of course, is simple when compared to the services of men, and the goods that are required on the other side will be supplied. There will be men, although their number is growing smaller and smaller, who will tell you that "business should go on as usual"; that if the X Y and Z department store does not do as big a business as it always did, the proprietors can not make as large a contribution to the Liberty Loan campaign as otherwise. Now, we do not expect that if everybody did their utmost in economizing we would stop the whole business of the X Y and Z store, or of any other store. The necessities of life and clothing must be purchased, and the selling will, of course, go on. But I need not tell you that if a hundred people, instead of going into the X Y and Z department store and each spending a hundred dollars, decided to economize and only spent fifty dollars, and contributed the fifty dollars each to the Liberty Loan campaign, there would be a great deal more contributed to the government coffers than would be if the X Y and Z department store simply sent in its profits.

I feel that the campaign that we are conducting in this country is one of the greatest value, because it is a campaign of edu-

cation. It is a campaign in which every man and every woman can help and do their part. You know how to reach some people better than any one else does, and that is true of every individual. The President has stated the reasons why we are at war as well as can be stated by anybody, but just because he has stated them so well that does not mean that nobody else should attempt to state these reasons. I believe that it is worth something to the public education that we should each try to understand this problem and each try to state it to our neighbor in as effective a way as possible. As I said at the beginning, this is a very big country; there are many people here; they are very much scattered, and they do not all have the opportunities to meet together in churches and school houses and cold hotel rooms and conferences. They have to be reached by personal solicitation.

In my recent trip in the country west I was impressed by the fact that there are two things that have done an immense amount of good in this country. One is the application of the draft. We often hear how badly some things are done here at the capital. We do not often hear how well other things are done, but I would like to have you just think of this question of the draft, one of the most ingeniously conceived and carried out pieces of work which has ever been accomplished. Suppose, as was done in the latter years of the Civil War, that each state or each state and county had received instructions from Washington to draft one-tenth of its population at a certain age, and suppose they had undertaken to do that? We would have heard all sorts of complaints about unfairness and injustice and favoritism, even if it had been done as well as the local communities could do it. But this draft was not carried out in that way. By the ingenious suggestion of a man or a group of men, everybody was registered by number, and in every little community. And then here in Washington were drawn by lot these numbers so that just as number 256 was the first drawn here in Washington, it was the first drawn for Maine, for Illinois, for Florida, for Idaho —everywhere. There was no chance for anybody to say there was unfairness. That is one of the great things that was carried out all over this country. And in every community, in almost every household, there are relatives of those households who have been taken and drafted into the service of the United States.

Now, the other great thing that has been done that impressed me is the publicity campaign in connection with this Liberty Loan. I have seen some few communities where they have taken the tax lists and know exactly what every little corporation and big corporation and individual can afford to give, and if they do not "come across," as they say, why, those persons are

given a yellow card or something to indicate that they are "slackers." Well, that is one way of getting money, but I doubt if that is really the best method. The thing that appeals to me about the way the campaign has been carried out in most places is that there has been an effort on the part of those who are carrying it on to explain the purposes for which we are at war, the reasons, to explain why the government needs this money, what the government is going to do with the money, and why it is necessary for us to economize to support the government. Now, by reason of these things, we are becoming a united country, more united, I believe, in every way than we have ever been before. We are going to come out of this war with a better understanding of the problems that we have before us as a nation.

# THE PROBLEMS AND DUTIES OF INDUSTRY IN WAR

By William C. Redfield,

*Secretary of Commerce*

I am very glad that the subject is so large, because no one would expect me to cover it all within the limits of a day, much less within the limits of an hour. "The problems of commerce and industry in war" are as numerous as the sands of the sea, the stars in heaven, as varied as the stars are in size and color and movement, as constant as the flowing stream, as regular as the recurring of the seasons. We shall not be able to do more than to look at a few of the underlying principles that lead to these problems and suggest possibly certain ways of solving them.

First of all I should like to tell you a little, if I may, as to what the Department of Commerce is. Strangely enough in this country we lack means of knowing what our government is—that is, we lack continued means operating regularly so that the average citizen may learn what the vast machine is that he helps create, whose bills he helps to pay, and concerning which he speaks freely in criticism, not always with accurate knowledge of the subject!

I did not know myself all or perhaps sufficient as to what the Department of Commerce was when I took charge of it. I remember certain very strenuous efforts to grasp the idea as promptly as possible. It was the old Department of Commerce and Labor, from which the Department of Labor was split off on the fourth day of March, 1913, and to my great satisfaction, because that department has since developed into a gigantic task, doing through one of its great new services, its employment service, a unique and an important work for the country to-day; but there remained quite sufficient to cover the round globe, and quite enough for any man to do.

I think in this presence, I may bear this share of personal testimony, that after something like thirty years spent in factories I never knew what it was to work until this particular thing happened along! This afternoon I have had two calls in the ordinary course of business, one to summon a man from

New Orleans here that he might be given a problem requiring study in Central America and dispatched there at once, the other a call from one of the military departments to send a man immediately to Japan to look into some manufacturing processes there. That is quite in the day's work. The problems as sudden as these two that I have mentioned—and both entirely unexpected at luncheon time—are not at all uncommon.

I should like you to think of an organization with a minimum force of about ten thousand and the maximum force of about fifteen thousand, whose operations cover the whole world, whose men—one man, for example, circumnavigated Africa looking in the native towns around the entire continent to determine the kind of cotton goods the natives wore, their patterns, sizes, prices, sources of supply, and brought home at the end something over five hundred specimens of cotton cloth to be manufactured, we hope, by American mills. Another man, or another group of men, through Siberia and Scandinavia looking into the question of the lumber supply possible to be had either from those countries for the reconstruction of devastated Europe, or to determine to what extent the United States would be called upon to supply the need itself. You must think of other men traveling through South America to determine the particular kind of ladies' and men's shoes that the people there desire in order that the American manufacturers may manufacture them; or again, another negotiating with the Bolivian government in order that Bolivian tin ore may be sent to America to be smelted, instead of, as heretofore, going across the sea to London, thence to come here.

I would like to tell you, if I may, of some of the little things that come over the desk occasionally. One Saturday evening, thinking the day's work all but done, preparing, I hoped, for a quiet Sunday, the Acting Prime Minister of Canada was announced to make the modest request that we find him the material and provide for the manufacture of one hundred and twenty-two million cans of pork and beans, of which he said he wanted fifty million cans by the first of July, and twelve million cans a month thereafter, because it appeared that the Canadian troops did not have it; they had what they call "bully beef"; and in the field they had exchanged their cans, with the result that the Tommies found pork and beans palatable and made requisition through the Canadian government for this small order, of which I speak to you.

It lay in the province of the United States to produce the tin plate and the cans, and that leads perhaps to a suggestion as to how complex commerce is.

Let us look at the tomato can for a moment in imagination. It seems relatively a simple thing. Many a vacant lot is unpleasantly covered or decorated by them. Nevertheless, let us look for a moment at the can. The material, the steel in that can, came from northern Minnesota, in all probability. But it is probable the tin in the can came from Singapore or the Dutch East Indies, or possibly from Bolivia, for we produce no tin in this country. The tin came by the way of London, and in the old days was smelted there. That was not sufficient. One had to send to Africa for the palm oil to use in the manufacture of the tin plate, because it is necessary to cover the plates with palm oil in order to make the tin adhere. So we simply had to go for your ordinary tin can to at least three continents in order to get that commonplace article which we respect so little. So that the simple article of commerce has in it sometimes something of a romantic interest after all. And many a tin can today, if it knew its own parentage, would congratulate itself on having escaped the German submarine on the way to its destination port!

An important part of our work is the great lighthouse service which reaches completely around the country, providing safety at sea for all who enter our harbors—something over eleven thousand aids to navigation constantly reserved—a fleet of one hundred and twenty vessels, always at work maintaining service, and about six thousand men employed. I should like to talk to you all evening about the lighthouse service and its romance. I should like you to think, if you please, some stormy night—to-night, last night—of the men who are ten miles off shore in lonely places with no one near by to see, with nobody to tell the story of their endurance, with no advertising value visible anywhere, with no inspiration of the touch of a fellow's hand, and no crowd to see, and no one to care. I wonder how you would like being on Bleak Rock Light, off the coast of Oregon. When we built that light we found only sixty days in the year on which you could land on the rock. When you visit it you will be hoisted by a crane in your little motor boat, which is as near as you can come. If the weather is at all rough, you would be hoisted from the deck of the steamer by a crane to the light; and there have been times when the Pacific Ocean has gone clear over the top of the light. I do not mean spray—I mean the Pacific Ocean waves; and that light is I think one hundred and eighty feet above the surface of the sea. You get a realistic sense of the power of the ocean in that service. We have a light house on the coast of California which is a very low tower, twenty-four feet high on a cliff two hundred feet high. It has

two times been broken by stones from the beach below thrown up by the waves.

There are tragedies in the service. I wonder how many of you remember only a few weeks ago the ice carried away the lightship off the coast of Massachusetts. She disappeared—six men with her. Nothing has ever been seen or heard from them since. So, two or three years ago the lightship which is located just off Buffalo on Lake Erie was seen for the last time at one o'clock on a stormy night and never seen again until we found her in sixty feet of water a year or more later. It has its tragedies, its heroisms. I would love to tell you the story of the little ship out in Honolulu that found a British bark three times her size anchored on a lee shore, in a howling gale of wind, so near the breakers that the rudder had been smashed, and how the brave captain and his crew in the steamer *Columbine* worked fifty-two continuous hours without sleep, in constant danger of their lives every moment, only to bring the big disabled ship safely into the harbor of Honolulu. And I would like even better for you to know that when I wrote them a letter of commendation, because of the captain's modesty, I had definitely to order him to have it framed and put up in his cabin, and the President himself insisted upon writing the captain a letter, and insisted that it be put up in the cabin. We have to write letters of commendation for some act of heroism about twice a week to some of the officers of the lighthouse service somewhere.

I would like you to think of the service as under keen discipline. One young man not long ago felt sleepy,—one young man who had recently assumed his duties felt sleepy one evening and realized that he was going to fall asleep on duty. The rules required that he should touch the signal button to call the assistant keeper, but he thought it would be but a moment and didn't touch the button. The light was out for sixteen minutes, and the young man left the service for good and all. It seems that it is the unforgivable offense, when the light is out, even for the shortest time. The discipline is at the least military in its strictness, and men and women have gone through certainly flood, if not German fire, to maintain the burning lights under circumstances of great hardship and peril.

Then to change over to another service, for I have only told you the barest outline of that one. I would like to go back to the lighthouse service for a moment and tell you of the ship at sea which steamed three hundred miles one year without leaving her anchor, which is true. The lightship has a very long chain, nine hundred feet long, and it hangs in a great loop suspended by a submerged buoy between the ship and the anchor,

and when it blows hard, in order to relieve the strain upon the chain the ship starts her engine and steams up towards her anchor and drifts back, steams up again and drifts back, and one ship off Hatteras steamed three hundred miles that year.

We had another ship whose anchor was gone and we didn't know when, nor can we say how long the ship lay there held by the nine hundred feet of chain and nothing else.

And I should like to tell you of the automatic wireless, whereby, in darkness and storm and fog, you can get a signal, "This is Boston light off Cape Cod," and by means of a new direction finder can point to the directions until you reach the point of silence, and then know you are pointing directly to the light; so that coming in the fog, say into Boston, you pick up that little signal, "This is Cape Cod here," and you pick up the signal, "This is Cape Ann here," and you pick up the signal, "This is Boston light here," and, having your two pairs of angles, you know precisely where you are as clearly as if it were broad day. There is a scientific side to it, which is very interesting and fascinating, but I haven't time to tell you more than that much.

I presume that all of you think that the old stories that those of you who are as old as I—a few I see—read when you were boys about shanghaiing and that sort of thing of sailors, is a story of the past, based on the story of J. Fennimore Cooper, a story of Captain Marriott. Oh, no; it is not. We have to keep vessels watching lest they do it all the time, and in the last three or four years have put three captains into jail for drugging men and taking them off to sea.

Two years ago twelve crews of oyster boats were landed on the shores of Chesapeake Bay and told by the captains to "get the hell out of here without your wages!" Fortunately, the twelve captains are in jail. In the same way we found a schooner on the Potomac River, I think it was only last winter, in which two seamen were being obliged to sleep on mattresses which lay in six inches of bilge water; and another case where one of our vessels passing by was signaled to by the crew of a schooner, whose captain left and came immediately over to our boat and complained of his crew,—about a mutiny. We went aboard to investigate, and when we got on board the crew all commenced to take their flannel shirts and pull them off over their heads,—a strange procedure for men to do,—but the object was plain: every man's back was marked with the blows from a wooden club with which the captain had been enforcing discipline, and within a hundred miles of the National Capital! So that there

is something to be done, and the duty of enforcing the navigation laws is a real one and not altogether a fanciful one.

It would interest you very much to tell you what the Steamboat Inspection Service of our Department found on the German ships when they were damaged. They were very skillfully damaged. In one or two cases a brass pipe was very carefully cut. Into the interior of the pipe a disk of brass was put which just fitted the pipe, and then the pipe was put together again and then carefully braised so that it looked as it did before, but when you came to use the pipe it wouldn't work. And the cylinders of the engines had V-shaped pieces broken out of the big castings that made the cylinders, and there are only a few foundries, either in the United States or Great Britain, that can make as large castings as some of those were, and it was thought that would make that ship somewhat difficult to manage, but somebody, I don't know altogether who, conceived the idea that cast-iron could be welded. It had never been done before but the V-shaped pieces were put back, and a piece of wrought iron laid over the exterior, and by means of the oxyacetyline burner welded into place, and the steamers are running that way now. And it's a rather interesting fact that at least two of them, to my personal knowledge, made higher speed under Yankee officers than they ever did under German!

Then I suppose you would hardly think the Bureau of the Census had anything to do with war. Well, the idea of the selective draft originated in the Bureau of the Census, that is, the idea of using the electoral machinery all over the country. It was originally supposed that it might take ninety days to get the registration made. As you recall, it was eventually done in one day by using the regular election machinery which existed all over the country. So, too, that service is at this hour engaged in classifying the men who have sent in the answers to the questionnaire into something like seventy or seventy-two different occupations, and it is making a census of commodities in order that the United States may learn what it has to fight with, which is somewhat of an important bit of information to know.

Now the Coast and Geodetic Survey is another portion of our work. It does not sound very juicy, but you will find a fine steamer whose headquarters are somewhere off our South Atlantic coast belonging to that service, operating under the Navy to-day, but under the command of Coast Survey officers, and another one in which we take reasonable pride, acting as the flag ship of the three-cruiser squadron located at New York; and I think if you went to General Pershing's headquarters in London, and asked for his chief wireless operator, he would tell

you that he came from the Bureau of Navigation of the Department of Commerce, for the Radio Service of the Merchant Marine is under our service, and every operator and every inspector went before the war into the Naval service, and we have had to replace them with an entirely new force since.

And last of all—we must not make it last because there is one other service—I would like to speak to you about the Bureau of Standards and of the Bureau of Fisheries. Why do you suppose it is people don't eat good things when they are hungry? This nation has been more or less hungry in the last year, and yet there is a vast abundance of good food, which everybody else in the world eats and which we always have left in the sea. Within two years the Bureau of Fisheries has put upon the market and sold and had eaten over fifty million pounds, twenty-five thousand tons, of entirely new and unused fishes, abundantly good foods eaten in other lands and not eaten here, but now eaten very largely here, simply not used before because they were not used. There was no reason for it, because they are good, and within the last six months some of you have seen in the papers of the introduction of whale meat. To-day the cook in my own house does not know it was not beef she served for us, but it was whale. She thinks to this hour it was beef, and there is not enough whale meat to be had to meet the demand to-day. It is regularly selling on the Pacific Coast in quantities. We get from three and one-half to five tons of good beef out of a whale! It is beef in the sense that it is meat, and not fish. It is the flesh of a warm-blooded animal, just as much of a warm-blooded animal as the cow, and an animal which lives in a particularly cleanly place and eats particularly cleanly food, and eats good food; and I venture to say if you were to have served to you a choice whale steak or roast, there is hardly any one here who would know what they were eating as different from beef. But that is not all. We get about three thousand square feet of good leather out of a whale now, and I urge you, ladies, not to look too critically into the origin and history of the long white evening gloves of the future! For I am more than suspicious they will be made from whales' intestines. An excellent variety of kid gloves! Kid gloves can also be made from the whale's stomach, and from his peritoneum, which I can only describe to you as the place where he would have peritonitis if he had it! The whaling industry, as you know, is the oldest of our industries, or almost the oldest, as old as any except chopping wood. I suppose, nevertheless, it has waited one hundred years—one hundred and fifty years—to make oil, for which we caught whales all this time, a by-product; for to-day the whaling companies are putting up canneries and

tanneries, and oil is a less essential part of the product which the whale gives us now.

One might go on and tell you fish stories, but I think we have had sufficient!

But now finally the work of the Bureau of Standards leads me a little more nearly to my subject. This war is a war of science. In that respect it is different from every other war. There is one immediate difference between this contest and all others. It is the war of the scientific man. Stop the laboratories behind the armies and you stop your armies quickly. Now, every conceivable kind of a thing is made in those laboratories. In the Bureau of Standards we have a thousand scientific men at work, and women, all the time on war problems of one or another kind.

I would like you to think of this particular problem. Every battleship or cruiser in the English Navy and in the United States Navy, when the war broke out, had on it binoculars certainly, telescopes certainly, range finders, of course, whose lenses were made in Germany. If three years and one-half ago you had asked to have the lens of a range finder on an American ship of war, or on an English ship of war replaced, to get a new lens, the glass was made in Germany; it was not made anywhere else. They had made a great specialty of optical glass, as it is called, the finer grades of glass, and you all know the great factories of Germany furnish these specialized goods. If we broke a lens in the American Navy three years ago, we had no place to replace it. If I had known I was going to talk to you about this, I would have brought a chunk of glass that I keep on my desk to show you.

Now what does it mean to make optical glass? We make lots of window glass; we make lots of spectacle glass, I mean glass which costs from four to ten dollars a pound to make. When I speak of optical glass, I speak of glass of almost absolute purity which will so refract light that looking at large black letters through it you will not see them at all, because they ought to be seen up yonder very far away. It took a year to make the pot, to find the materials in the United States to make the pot in such a way that the materials had not oxidized so that they would color the glass. At the end of the year we had an empty pot. It took another year to find the mixture in which to make the glass, to hunt this country through to find the sand and silica in various forms—and other chemicals necessary, which were pure, or, if not pure, to learn how to cleanse them. At the end of two years we knew what to put in the pot; then it took six months or more to learn how to treat it. At the end of two and one-half years we had some very good glass.

Now we have—and I am speaking of our own work now carried on at Pittsburgh—now we have eight pots, one thousand pounds each, running continuously, and are producing, as is a large factory in private hands with our assistance there, and another in Rochester—are producing as fine a grade of optical glass as is made anywhere in the world. In that respect we were wholly dependent. That dependence has gone.

We found when we entered the war some of our soldiers would certainly be blinded, but we had no means of making artificial eyes for them, because the glass from which artificial eyes were made was made wholly in Germany, and one of the problems we have recently solved is to make the peculiar yellowish green glass that is the exact color of the human eyeball. That has been met and solved also.

There are many problems of the kind, and one of the things the war has taught us is that it is not always economical to buy in the cheapest market, if that means national dependence upon a source which may become unfriendly. Those who went through what the textile industries of this country went through for lack of dyes two years ago will be very hesitant in the future to buy in the cheapest market without thinking whether it will stay the cheapest market. Fortunately there are now several hundred millions of dollars behind the American dyestuff industry. In that respect also we are now independent of Germany.

The war brings other industrial problems with it. Aeroplanes are covered in Europe with linen, a light brown, thin, strong linen cloth, and we bought some of it and have used some of it; but we cannot get more, and there is no linen industry in the United States. We raise flax for making linseed oil; we do not raise flax to make linen. It is a different kind of a flax, and it is treated in a different way. What shall we do to cover our aeroplanes? We are going to cover ours with a cloth made of cotton. We have cotton—plenty of it; not the ordinary cotton, but we use a grade of cotton that grows in the Imperial Valley of California and elsewhere, and out of that we have devised a cotton fabric which has stood every test, is at least as strong as linen, is a good deal cheaper, and is wholly of American manufacture.

So also the war brings problems concerning tires. The tires which you use in your several limousines is not the kind of a tire that you put under a ten-ton truck, and yet a tire must be made which will carry, if possible, a heavy load, not on bad roads, but where there aren't any roads. And so it becomes necessary to devise a new cotton fabric; and then it becomes necessary

for us to put in a rubber mill in order to devise, or to help the industry devise if we can, ways of making the rubber and the fabric cohere so as to make the best possible tires.

It might interest you to know that, experimentally, not as laboratory apparatus, we have to run a paper mill, a rubber mill, a stone yard and a bronze foundry, and are putting in a textile mill and a rolling mill, and eventually we hope to have working units of each of the large industries of the country in order that we may be able to solve for them the problems which arise in these industries.

May I speak of just one of these problems as an illustration of what it means? Suppose I asked each of you to bring me a piece of something that was red. Would they be alike when I got them? No, because you differ in your views as to what red is and your eyes are not alike; you do not see red the same way. Now what are we going to do in an industry like the dye industry or the lithographic industry for lack of a standard color? What is red, anyhow? Nobody knows. There is only one red that everybody would agree is red, they would have to agree is red—that is the red of the solar spectrum. Now, big industries depend upon that. For instance, all cotton oil is sold on the basis of color. A good deal of butter has a marked relation to color. The dairy industry is affected by it, printers' ink is affected by it, the dyeing industry, the lithographic industry, every industry that uses color is affected by it. Yet there was no standard color. Now it happens the cotton oil industry did the best it could a few months ago, and got the colored glasses which were made to give standard shades of yellow. Later they got another set of those colored glasses. When they happened to put the two sets together they were not alike. There was not any standard. So they came to the Bureau of Standards to help that problem out. I think I am correct in saying that it took nearly two years in the first place to teach the men to do the work, that it took nearly or quite two years then to devise the special instruments which the work was found to require, that then it took another year at least to do the work, but at the end of five years we had a little glass vial that can be put in the salesman's pocket, which had a definite relation to the solar spectrum, and which nobody could say did not, because all they had to do was to put a prism in the window and let the sun shine light through it and see for themselves. And thus we had made a standard of that color which was absolutely incontestable anywhere, and from which there was no appeal until the solar spectrum some day shall change.

And so in that way one can pass on into all the shades of

color and make definite standard colors from them which no one can contest.

But what, if you please, about color and light that no one can see? That is one of the things with which in recent months we have had something to do. Your eyes are very wonderful instruments indeed. Remarkable instruments, but they are neither extremely delicate nor extremely powerful. They average well, but there are light rays that you cannot see, not because they are not light rays, but because your eyes and mine are not fitted to see certain rays of light, which are known as the ultra violet rays. They are rays of light, sure enough. If I had an instrument here to produce them, and should put out all this garish light (indicating lights in the hall), you would not see anything very much; but if I stood and looked at you here and asked you to smile, while there would be no light in the room and it would be black dark, your teeth would shine with a peculiar quality, for they have the peculiar quality of fluorescence, and anything that is fluorescent has the quality of shining under these violet rays. Now, that is a very astounding and interesting truth of science, and one which is most fascinating. Suppose I wished to signal by a light at a thousand yards, and have here on the table some little apparatus emitting the ultra violet rays, the street might be crowded on a dark night, and not a single person see those rays, but yonder a thousand yards away is a man with something in his hand which will fluoresce, and all he has to do is to turn it in the right direction, and those rays will light that thing up and yet nobody can see the rays; nobody on the street will know anything about the rays. They are invisible to the human eye until you strike the peculiar substance which has the character of fluorescence. The possibilities of such a thing in the way of signaling I am sure will appeal to your imagination immediately.

These are just some of the more obvious works of science which are going on in connection with this war.

But then this is not my subject. I am only leading up, too slowly you think, to the problems of industry. Perhaps you will see that one of the problems of industry is the art of making entirely new things rather suddenly when the time comes, the art of adjusting yourself very quickly to new and entirely unforeseen conditions, as, for example, in making leather from the hide of the shark. We have been producing leather for some months now from the skins of fishes, and Mr. Shark is really becoming a very useful member of society. A contract has recently been made—or an arrangement has recently been made with a man in Honolulu, to furnish four hundred shark

skins a week, for the purpose of making leather out of them. I never thought as well of the shark as I now do! I am told by my department people that they have in preparation a pair of shoes for me out of shark skin, and I have in my hand a pair of shoes for a small boy which he had worn three weeks, made from shark skin, and which, wonderful to relate, he had not been able to stub through at the toe! A very excellent grade of morocco leather has been made from the skin of the dog fish, and also from the skin of shark, and in the whale hide we get a leather which has the peculiar quality of resiliency, which will stretch out and retract like rubber.

The truth is, ladies and gentlemen, this war has shocked us out of a lot of placidity which was not healthy. We were a good deal better pleased with ourselves than we had any business to be, and there is one side of this whole thing, bought and paid for at a fearful price maybe, which is going to be helpful and strengthening to the country. There is no possible question about that.

We will have to hunt America over to get enough more magnesia to keep our steel industry going, which now requires much more than we have had before. We still go to Brazil for magnesia just as we go to Africa for oil, because while the good Lord gave us most things, He did not give us everything in the United States. We still have to get a few things somewhere else, which is perhaps good for our conceit.

But now to get at the problems which face you and me and mine; as we look at this war I am sure you will see, in the first place, that these new conditions are wholly novel, and adjustments have got to be made to something that never happened before.

In the first place, you buy goods, and you can not get them shipped to you. In the next place, you ship goods and you can not get them delivered. You want goods from abroad, and the government will not let you get them. You want to send goods abroad, and the government will not let you forward them. You want to run overtime, but you can not get coal. And in a hundred ways novel things come to pass. You go down to your factory one morning, and the shop next door has been commandeered. You have been making fine jewelry, and you are invited to make fuses, and everything is strange and novel. The law steps into your working affairs, and takes some of your younger men. You have a competent chemist or engineer—he finds employment in the Signal Corps or the Ordnance Bureau. The whole thing, human and mechanical and financial, is altered. You have laid up some money for a rainy day, and a

man comes around who asks you to buy Liberty bonds. You have laid something aside for an allowance for your daughter and are requested to put it into war savings stamps. Everything is new and strange—not humorous at all, sometimes very far from it; and the only way to face these problems with any certitude is to find out first what it is all about, and second what the situation requires in order to make an adjustment, because we are all of us unconsciously readjusting ourselves every day to something or other.

You are here, I take it, as lecturers to get readjusted to the conditions as they are. Now, the readjustments this war requires are based upon, first, what the war is, and, second, upon what it is all about, and the demands it makes.

Now, then, I think we can get at the philosophy of action anyhow, if we can reduce it to absolute practice here to-night. The war is a thing which demands all the power of the nation. Now, let us get that clear, because it is not clear to a lot of people. The war demands all the power of the nation—man power, money power, woman power, boy power, girl power, resources, water power, steam power, every kind of power of this nation is called for—brain power, and last and greatest of all, spiritual power—is called for in this war.

The Germans have a hideous phrase, "The will to power." America says to its people, "You have the power to will, and we wish you to will to use all your power." Now, that is absolutely fundamental, and goes to the root of my problem. If you are running a factory or running an industry it is not a question whether you ought to readjust yourself to the war in part or whether you ought to continue as you were before. The question is this: "The nation needs all its power. How shall I turn that share of national power that is in my possession or control to help the nation?" Your problem is half solved when you realize what it is you have got to solve. We must do—you and I—all we can, not a part of what we can.

Now, for example, to get an illustration of the two kinds. I have a friend, a rich man, of large income, and this is the way he uses it; taking his annual income, he put fifty thousand dollars, and then another fifty thousand dollars, into Liberty bonds; then gave twenty-five thousand dollars to the Red Cross; then eight thousand dollars to the Knights of Columbus; then ten thousand dollars to one or another military organization. Then he said he had pretty much used up his annual income, and he and his wife made up their minds that they started poor, so they might just as well live poor. This year he agreed to get along with one suit of clothes, and his wife agreed to get along with

one dress. That is pretty nearly what is meant by all of one's power.

Incidentally, his factory was running on government work. That man took all his income, except what he absolutely needed to get himself one suit of clothes and his wife one dress, and to keep themselves going in a simple way. He did not run his automobile; he let that go. That was his conception of using "all his power."

On the other hand, I know of a young woman, a nice girl, who has had four new dresses this spring. She is a working girl. It has not reached her yet. She does not have to use her earnings to support herself wholly, and the conception of using "all her power" hasn't come home; so she had four, perhaps more, certainly four, new dresses. She has not reached the ideal. It has not yet gotten home to her that perhaps some of that shouldn't have been spent upon herself.

Don't you see—don't you see—ladies and gentlemen, that if "E pluribus unum" is a phrase, and only a phrase, we shall need to say, "God help us!"

The only way in the world we can be sure that we can say with certainty, "God bless us," is when "E pluribus unum" becomes a fact as well as a phrase. We cannot put it more concisely, I think, than that. Are we "one out of many," or are we not? If we are, there is no national power in all this planet equal to that of America; none, none whatever. But if it is only a phrase, and we are not "one out of many," but still a lot of disintegrated parts, an incoherent, non-cohesive aggregation of people—if that is all we are, then America may not be able to control her own destinies. Now, you see, that is what it comes to. All the nation's power means certitude in this matter. It means certitude, but anything less than that means uncertitude by the degree by which it is less, and if you and I do continue in the old, old way, to have the things, innocent in themselves and proper, but which we can get along without, now, just to the extent we do so, we change certitude into uncertitude. Now, that is plain, but it is the Lord's truth.

Now, that is the philosophy back of us, the philosophy of sacrifice, the philosophy of using all our power. That means power of speech, I think; it means power of temperate speech, because I have the idea that the moment speech becomes intemperate it loses its power. It means power of influence. Why, do you know there are working colored women in this town of Washington, poor working women, who never dreamed of becoming investors, who are paying painfully a dollar and two dollars a month for a Liberty bond, out of a spirit as fine as the

widow when she gave her mite in the Temple. Now, if we could do that all through America, if that spirit is alive from San Diego to Bangor, then America is saved, no matter what it may cost, nor how long it will last. You can help keep that spirit alive, keep America using all her power, personally, financially, mentally, morally, physically, keeping it used steadily.

This is the biggest test we have ever had, the biggest test. I am going to get to that in a minute. It is a different sort of a test from any other. Can a democracy stand the test long, for a purely idealistic cause? Can the appeal of a spiritual fight be deep enough to hold us to the line steadily to the end? Those are the questions America has got to answer. I am perfectly confident what the answer will be, because my judgment of America is that she could not be held to a material line, and that she could not be held to a political line, but she can be held to a spiritual line if our people hold her to it.

Then the problem in industry, in your shop, comes to this: Shall I continue making what I am making? If I do, can it be used for war purposes? If I do not, what can I make that will suit war purposes? I said to a man making maps the other day—he asked me what he ought to do—I said to him, "This is your problem. You are bound because of your appreciation of the situation; this is your problem, to do your share of the work. Very good. Write to the War Department, write to the Navy Department, tell them you are a map maker, that you have such and such facilities, and ask whether they want to use them. If they do, your problem is solved. If they do not, write to the Red Cross, write to everybody else of that kind you can think of, and ask them if they want to use your plant. Is the Treasury Department getting out a new Liberty Loan? Can you make posters? Write and tell them you can. You yourself get busy with the war job, and see to it you leave nothing undone to let it be known what you can do, and when and how. When you have done it all, all and not a part of it, but all you can do, then so long as you can, if they do not want you, run along on your own way; but remember that your earnings now, save for necessary living expenses, ought to go to help your country through with that part of its financial power. Remember now to encourage your wage-working people, not discourage them. They are doing a lot more than they had to do before, for what it costs them to live. Pay them enough, not merely to keep body and soul together, and clothed, but pay them enough to do their share of helping the financial power along too. And when you and your men and women are all of you—all of you—contributing all you can to the nation's power, you need not have your con-

science worried any more, because what is left in the way of excess profits the Treasury will take anyway!"

But, after all, the way in which you and I are going to deal with these industrial problems, and they are very serious, will depend wholly upon the idea inside of our heads as to what the war is to be, how we look at it. In the last few weeks I have had a very unusual experience. We sent out twenty-five thousand letters to business men in this country, asking them to write their business letters with a "Win the war" spirit. The circular was headed, "Win the War Spirit in Business Letters." I wish you could see the answers. They have been most inspiring, and they came from all over the land by every mail.

There has been just one kicker, a man who did not get something he wanted, who announces that he's going to vote against the Administration the next election. There is one man—just one man—who made a vague complaint of something that he wanted straightened out, and we wrote back for particulars, and told him we would straighten it. But with these exceptions every single letter was full of a perfectly splendid spirit, and business and professional men are going out of their way to boost in their business correspondence to help the country through. It has been a most inspiring and delightful experience. So the ordinary operations of the business office can be made a way of helping the cause along.

That leads to this thought, that these problems of industry, problems of commerce, multitudinous and troublesome as they are, can only be solved with satisfaction if we have a clear understanding of the great causes that lie deep behind this thing. And there let me close with a few words on that theme, because it is vital and essential to the whole subject.

If you had crossed from the American ranks to the English ranks at the battle of Bunker Hill, if the battle could have been suspended so that you could have gone over and talked with the enemy, you would have found that every one of the great simple things of life, the basic things, the accepted things, were to him what they were to you—home meant the same to the enemy that it meant to you, and freedom meant the same thing to an Englishman, and government meant the same thing, and humanity meant the same thing, and "honor thy father and thy mother" was as much believed in by an English soldier as by an American. If you had crossed in the midst of the battle of Gettysburg from Meade's lines over to Lee's lines and talked with the Confederate soldiers, you would have found the same thing too. Everything basic and fundamental was accepted by them. Those were po-

litical struggles. Now, if you cross from the lines of the English army, of the American army, to-day, over into the German army and talk with the German soldiers, you will find something very different, something altogether different. Within the ranks of the Kaiser and the ranks of the Allied forces, there is an essential difference, which was not there in the Revolutionary War, and which was not there in the Civil War, in this country. The great basic conceptions are different, and the more and more we think of these essential differences, the more we see that here are two great contending forces, each intolerable to the other, one of which must survive and the other of which must die, for the two can not live together on this earth.

The German philosophy is a philosophy which starts from the top, from an assumed intimacy with the Godhead, and works down to the bottom, imposing authority at every step upon the men and the women beneath. It is a weight imposed from above by autocracy upon the people beneath. Its high mandate is the word, "Verboten"—"forbidden." It is all over the Empire, and the state in Germany has no morals and no law save might. The whole philosophy of life is a perfectly cold, dead spirit of evolution, a cosmic process, as they say, in which are no moral values at all. No laws are binding upon the state, save the laws of force and of power, and the whole conception of the community at large is expressed in the phrase, "The will to power." That is the exact reverse of everything that we believe. You go back home, and if you think of it, the home is the foundation of our state, and all that there is of county or town or state or government has, in its analysis, its relation to protecting the home. The head of our nation does not impose his will upon the people beneath, but only does righteously when he acts according to their will; for we say the process is upward, not downward, and power is based upon the man and the woman in the home, and grows out of their consent and action to the top.

The other process is the reverse. One is a living growth upward like every plant and tree and human soul; the other is a weight crushing downward, and the two together can not exist side by side.

It is just as true of a philosophy as it is of a religion that "by their fruits ye shall know them." The fruit of Germany philosophy has been sowed and reaped in Belgium and in France. We have a right to say that these things which are thus done and are not objected to, which are esteemed to be right if done in the name of the state and for the perfection of German power, are the normal result of the German philosophy, taken at its worst, and when it is free to act. And we have therefore a

philosophy which works itself out in the deliberateness of the German commander in Poland. "Starvation is here," said he, "and being here, we propose to use it, in order that we may remove these people, so that we may replace them in time with Germans." Conceive what your idea of starvation would be in a district near you, a district which was perhaps uninhabited by anybody whom you hold in high personal esteem or regard. You would give freely of money, effort, struggle to relieve that starvation. Reducing your antagonists through starvation, you do not regard that as a legitimate use of power. It is abhorrent to you and to me, and America, because of her standards.

Here are two antagonistic forces, one cold, deadly, unmoral, if not deliberately and openly weak and devilish. If "by their fruits we may know them," then it is pure deviltry set free with power behind it. On the other side is a great nation deliberately organized so that the individual man and woman shall have his chance and her chance in the world. The whole state exists for its people, not the people existing for the state, and we here still believe that it is right to tell the truth; and that gentleness is not weakness; and that sympathy is not silliness; and we still believe that the man who would give a helping hand to a suffering neighbor may be brave enough to die to protect the child, if need be. Whereas, in the German thought that sort of thing is an essential exhibition of weakness, the "sign of weakness," they speak of. They say in their own philosophy, "Weakness is the most despicable of sins." We yet believe that to lift up the fallen and the weak is one of the fine exhibitions of human character.

This is the essential difference, roughly and crudely, between the two sides in this great war. If I have had an ability to make it clear to you, it is this that I want you to see—that this is a spiritual struggle; it is a fight against the devil as truly as when you and I resist our own passions and temptations to do wrong. It is a fight of the spirit of men and the spirit of God, and if we grasp the essential spiritual values of it all, certain great phrases come back to us with a new light out of the old Book. We begin to know why the Jews always spoke of the Almighty as the Lord of Hosts. We understand the horror with which the old Hebrew looked out upon the world of wickedness around him and see how he could make his God say, "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord of Hosts." These old spiritual conceptions, thank God, are coming back to us, not in any phrase or creed or form! But something has happened, ladies and gentlemen, something that you and I never saw before, to make the Mohammedans and the Greeks, the Christians, the Roman Cath-

olics and the Protestants, the Hindoos and the Confucianists, and the Shintoists and the Buddhists all die side by side on the same field of battle.

How is it that the Mohammedan of Morocco and the Indian of Siam are fighting in the same trench, and with English armies and with Buddhist armies, and with the Shintoists from Japan in the fight too? How is it that the things that have separated men all these long centuries through are now uniting men so that side by side the African negro from the dark continent, the cultured Frenchman from Paris, the Englishman and the Scotchman, the Portuguese and the Greek, the Italian, the Serbian, men of all different races and conditions and colors are dying together side by side on the one field of battle? Here is something, if you please, beyond the accustomed, accepted values, beyond all political values, something which we wholly fail to grasp, if we speak of it in terms that are commonly used to measure standards and values between men and nations; something beyond the sobering influences that have held men together in the past, something that must be the universal uprising of the human conscience against wrong.

Now, if we get that conception, can you not see how it runs like a solvent through all our problems and difficulties? If this is a simple question of right and wrong, how clear many things become which otherwise are perplexing! With a clear conscience we can make this sacrifice; it is right. With a clear conscience we can not make the selfish expenditure; it is wrong. Our country stands at the head of a spiritual power, and we can call the blessing of the Almighty upon our work when we seek in all humility and without irreverence to do His will, as we see it. We claim no tribal god in America. We are quite content to worship the same God that the African and the Asiatic worship. They may call him by different names from that, but it is the same Father of us all. We claim no special rights in His presence. It is only the Kaiser that makes such claims as that! But as the good Book tells us to walk humbly with our God, so we do, speaking the truth as we see it.

And so our boys go, oh—not quite in the spirit of militarism—no. You remember how the Knights of the Round Table went out to battle, in every case to redeem the oppressed, and undo a wrong, and you remember the spirit in which the poet writes of them, "The Holy Grail with them went to a spiritual contest and a spiritual struggle." You remember the Shakespeare line, "If thou dieth, thou dieth a blessed creature." There is that spirit behind America; there is that spirit abroad in the land.

I beg of you, make these truths clear to all people everywhere

you go. They are all haters of evil everywhere in America, and it is evil we fight, not merely a government, not merely an army; we wrestle not with flesh and blood so much as with the spirit of evil in high places.

# V: EDUCATION AND GENERAL WELFARE DURING THE WAR AND AFTER

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## EDUCATION DURING THE WAR AND AFTER

By George D. Strayer,

*Professor of Educational Administration, Teachers' College, Columbia University, Chairman Joint Commission on Education, National Education Association*

My topic is announced as "Education During and After the War." The best way to begin any consideration of the problem is to ask what the countries that have been at war the longest have done about it. In England the tendency was in the beginning to neglect education. There was laxity in the administration of the compulsory education law. There was a tendency to expect that boys and girls could do their part to win the war by neglecting education. They were allowed to go into factories and on to farms to work. As a result of this policy and of other conditions, there was an alarming increase in juvenile delinquency. As each successive year of the war passed, the delinquency of boys and girls of school age increased. But England woke up; the situation changed. A Parliamentary committee was appointed and a report issued. A bill which is known as the Fisher Bill was presented to Parliament.

In the report and in the provisions of the bill there is a recognition of the necessity for increasing the period of compulsory education. Whereas formerly boys and girls could, under certain conditions, go to work at eleven years of age, they are compelled under the provisions of the Fisher Bill to remain in school until fourteen, and to work in continuation schools until eighteen.

Possibly the most significant item in the Fisher Bill is the provision for continuation schools. Boys and girls who go to work at fourteen must, according to the requirements provided by this bill, attend school during daylight hours for eight hours a week during the regular school term. Nor is it intended simply

to supplement their industrial or commercial experience in these schools. It is provided, rather, that training in citizenship and training for leisure time shall be offered. Work in English literature, in music, and the like, are advocated. It is proposed, as well, in the report which was submitted to differentiate types of instruction given in continuation schools. For the abler group—those who may be expected to become the noncommissioned officers of industry—a type of training involving some command of the theory lying back of the processes is proposed. For a second group a better understanding and more achievement in the skills which are required in the higher types of work is provided; while still another type of training is offered for those who are to do the unskilled work.

The clear recognition that democracy will be sound only if all of the people are taught the history of their country or given an opportunity to understand its institutions, are trained in the ideals which characterize their group, and are given an opportunity to enjoy in their free time the nobler sorts of reaction, is the conviction which apparently prevails in England. It is most interesting to know, as well, that there are Englishmen who believe that the success of their country depends upon the conservation of mentality, even to the point of providing maintenance for boys and girls in secondary schools when their parents cannot support them. The war will have done much for England if out of it there grows this recognition of the necessity for providing education in terms of the varying capacities and abilities of boys and girls and of making this education available regardless of the economic status of the family from which the children come.

In this country we have tended to repeat the experience of England. It has been proposed in all seriousness that we repeal our child labor legislation, that we close schools early, and that boys and girls be put to work because of the war emergency. There has actually been a falling off in many of our high schools. Boys have felt the obligation to work, even though in many instances they might have served their country best by continuing in school and preparing for the higher technical work which is so much demanded. Last winter when there was a shortage of coal, it was quite common to suggest that schools be closed. In many communities schools were closed for from one to six weeks. I submit that from the standpoint of winning the war and from the standpoint of democracy it would have been better to close the saloons. Many other industries engaged in the production of non-essentials might better have been closed than to turn children out of school. Let us hope that this next winter when we

may again face this emergency, there will be a public opinion established which will require that all schools be kept open.

We are awakening in this country to a better realization of our national needs, and are coming to appreciate the deficiencies in our public school system. Before the war we knew, all of us, of the situation which permitted boys and girls to be taught in some tongue other than English. There are even now tens of thousands of American boys and girls born in this country and expecting to live here all their lives who are being taught in German, in Polish, in French, in Swedish, or some other foreign tongue. I believe that the time is rapidly approaching when we will recognize the danger of this propaganda in our schools. Teaching in the foreign tongue can result in nothing less than an attempt to hand on to American boys and girls the traditions and ideals of the country, the language of which is used as the instrument of instruction. We cannot hope to hand on our ideals and our traditions, or to develop the right sort of American citizens in a school taught in a foreign tongue. The social inheritance which we seek to transmit to American boys and girls can be understood and become a controlling factor in their thinking only when it is transmitted in English. I confidently believe that within another year every state in the Union will require that instruction in the common branches be given in English only. I believe, as well, that if the individual states do not act, the nation must act for the welfare of us all.

There is another emergency situation which we have to face which has become acute on account of the war. We have come to realize that we have depended for the development of our American democracy upon a teaching corps which is inadequately prepared for the work which it has to do. You may wonder that I stand here, a representative of that profession, and make such a confession. You will not wonder about it so much, possibly, when I tell you that all of us who belong to the profession have realized for a long time that a large proportion of those who teach do not belong to the profession. The difficulty is not with the teaching profession. The difficulty is, rather, with the public that has been willing to accept for our schools those who are not properly trained as teachers. I am informed, upon authority which is entirely creditable, that there are to-day in American schools five million boys and girls being taught by boy and girl teachers who have less than a high school education. Now that is an alarming situation, not simply from the standpoint of the profession which I represent, but also from the standpoint of the democracy which you and I represent. If we are to develop a democracy which is to persist, if we are to lead among the

democracies of the world in the achievement of those ideals which President Wilson has placed before us, it will be because we have replaced the boy and girl teachers with men and women trained for that profession which is most important in democracy. These men and women will be masters of the knowledge which they are to teach. They will be mature, professional, skillful, able to occupy positions of leadership in the communities in which they are at work. They will be men and women of high ideals and of deep appreciation of our institutions.

We cannot, of course, expect to get men and women of this sort to teach the children in our schools unless we realize the seriousness of the situation, and unless the American people, with this situation clearly before them, are willing not only to demand more training for teachers, but also to pay more for the work which is done. It is not enough to talk about the ideals of service which actuate those who teach. I take it that no professional man continues in his field of work without such controlling motives. These ideals of service will not, however, pay the bills that teachers have to pay. Under existing circumstances it is not possible to go into colleges and universities and pick the finest men and women there are in order to give them professional training in the field of teaching. We cannot hope to attract the ablest men and women unless we are willing to pay very much more in teachers' salaries. I look forward to an increase from fifty to one hundred per cent. in the salaries paid to teachers because of the recognition of our failure in the past to provide men and women adequately trained in this field. The situation at the present time is even more acute than it was before the war began. Many of our capable teachers have gone into government service. Still others have been attracted by the higher pay offered in other fields. There is at the present time an alarming shortage of teachers, and unless more money is paid and more training demanded, our schools will be even less well taught than they have been in the past.

I wish I could make you appreciate the danger to our democratic institutions that this involves. The draft has revealed to us the necessity for more careful provision for the physical welfare of our population. In most school systems in which medical inspection has been introduced to date, it has amounted to little more than inspection. A record has been written upon a card, and in due time that card has been taken out of the file and another examination made, only to discover that the defects still exist. Any adequate handling of the problem which confronts us will involve the use of school nurses, medical and dental clinics, nutrition classes, and the like. We must not

only know what the defects are and what the history of the child has been over a period of years, but must make provision for the correction of defects and for the normal development of the individual. Much must be done in the field of recreation. Play is significant in child life not alone on account of the physical gain, but quite as much in terms of the social development which may be brought about through its instrumentality. In this field we shall have to spend more money. A ten or fifteen cent per child medical service is probably not worth the money it costs. When we are willing to spend from one to two dollars per child, we will do much to develop a virile population.

We have not done much in this country in the way of training for national service. It is true that our schools have accomplished something, but I have already suggested their weakness, especially from the standpoint of the training, maturity, and ability of a considerable proportion of the teaching corps. I am interested in the possibility of training for national service beyond that which is involved in the usual school program. We have deluded ourselves when we thought that giving an elementary school education to boys and girls would prepare them for citizenship in a democracy. We know that the period during which a boy or girl gets his ideals and has his purposes fixed—the period during which he acquires those skills which are to make of him a productive member of the community—is after fourteen years of age. The period between fourteen and twenty-one, during which the boy or girl gets fixed the direction which his energies are to take, makes those associations, and develops those ideals which are to determine whether or not he is to serve or to exploit society, is of the greatest importance for public education. It is during the period that we have thought of as reserved for the fortunate that we must provide education for all boys and girls. There must be compulsory education beyond fourteen. We must not discourage our young people from school control. Those who go to work must be required to report regularly to the school for instruction during daylight hours. In these continuation schools, training for more effective work in the industries, in commerce, and for some, the beginning of professional training must be undertaken. It must be the time during which the public school seeks to discover ability and to nourish it. There must be the possibility of support for those who have unusual capacity. For all it must be considered the obligation of the school to develop adequate ideals of citizenship to make them acquainted with our democratic ideals. The study of history and of civics, of literature and of music, and the like, must provide an opportunity for the use of

leisure time which will make for the health of the individual and the welfare of the nation. No population can remain permanently sound that has to be amused, entertained, and stimulated from the outside.

The war has made us conscious of our obligation to the immigrants who have made their homes with us, and to that part of our adult population which is still illiterate. These groups, so long as they remain in ignorance, are a menace to our free institutions. Provision must be made for their education in reading and writing and for an even more significant education in history, civics, and the like. They must come to understand our institutions, and to accept our ideals, or we must recognize in them a positive danger to our society.

From a consideration of all of the problems which I have briefly presented to you, there grows the most significant thought which I have to express. The war is giving a national conception of education. We are growing away from our neighborhood ideas of education and beginning to understand that it is the business of the nation to provide adequate schools for the nation's needs. We are coming to believe that if the nation is to realize its ideals and its purposes, it must take account of the weaknesses in the schools. We are no longer satisfied with that misconception of the democratic ideal which says in effect that it is democratic to allow a neighborhood to have just as poor a school as it wants. I am looking forward to the time when we will all recognize the fact that it is the business of the nation to see that every American boy and girl gets that sort of education which is to send him forth from the school sound physically, trained intellectually, and grounded in an appreciation of the ideals which lie on the very road of our democracy. I confidently believe that this will be accomplished by adequate training for able men and women who will be glad to serve the nation as teachers in her schools. I believe that there will come a realization of the necessity for multiplying our expenditures for education in order to safeguard our democracy.

We have pledged our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor to the cause of democracy in the world. I submit that this cause cannot exist, and that free government among men cannot exist except as we establish in this country a system of public schools which will develop an intelligent, law-abiding, liberty-loving citizenship. Our greatest safeguard is to be found in a more adequate public school system. The hope of our humanity—democracy—is to be fulfilled through the education of our children.

# HOW SHALL WE EDUCATE FOR THE DEMOCRACY OF THE FUTURE?

By Philander P. Claxton,

*United States Commissioner of Education*

We are engaged in the greatest war that the world has ever known. We have entered it on the highest plane that any people has ever entered war; we have entered it on the plane of idealism which characterizes the American people and the American government. You will remember that some one hundred and forty or more years ago we were engaged in a war which they thought great then, which in its results was great—the war of the Revolution. It was in progress, however, for a year before any one knew definitely what it was for, what it was about. Then a committee was appointed and a report of that committee was made which we know now as the Declaration of Independence. From that time on we knew what it was about. We were fighting for our rights as men, not as English citizens.

Another seventy-five years went by, and we were engaged in another war, until then one of the great wars of the world. It had been going on for two years or more before we knew definitely what it was for. In one section we thought it was for the preservation of our rights under the Constitution. Another section thought it was for the preservation of the Union—a high ideal, but on the dedication of the battleground of Gettysburg Lincoln told us and the world what it was for, "that government of the people, by the people, and for the people should not perish from the earth." It was a test whether democracy was to continue.

And the present war had been in progress for two years or more, and we asked what it was for, and each nation that went into it issued some kind of a statement in a white book or a red book or a green book or an orange book or a yellow book, and each one gave one satisfactory explanation that it was for the defense of the country, and I came to call it a war of defense. And finally we entered it, and then the clearest voice that has spoken in all these years, speaking for the American people,

or rather the American people speaking for themselves through their representative, the President of the United States, told us and the world what it was for, that the world may be made safe for democracy, that all people may be free; or if we may paraphrase the words of Mr. Lincoln, that government of the people by the people and for the people shall extend to all the earth; or if we may paraphrase the words of Mr. Jefferson, that nations, all nations are equal and free, or should be with certain inalienable rights as nations, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, regardless of their size or of their wealth. And we have entered the war for that purpose.

It is a costly war, and has already cost us more than all the wars that we have ever engaged in from the beginning until now, and it is only for us probably begun. It may cost us twenty, forty, fifty, eighty or a hundred billions of dollars. We may have to send one, two, three, four or five millions of men across the seas. But cost what it will, to be paid in whatever coin it must, it can not end until the purpose for which we have entered has been attained and the world made safe for democracy. All people shall be free; and the world can not be safe, and there can be no prospect of permanent peace so long as there shall be in the world any irresponsible government, responsible only to itself and not to the people, that can wield a nation as a giant wields a club or an officer wields a sword, unreasoning and unresisting—until that condition of affairs shall end, this war must go on.

It is a fight between the past and the future, between darkness and light, between militaristic autocracy on the one side and democratic freedom on the other. And there are just two problems, therefore, of supreme interest, or two tasks of supreme importance for us as a people now in America. One is to win the war for freedom, democracy and permanent peace, and the other, while we are doing that, to preserve our own souls and to free ourselves and our children for life and citizenship in the new era which the war is ushering in.

It is not necessary that we should wear as good clothes as we have been wearing; it is not necessary that we should eat the same amount of food and waste the same; it is not necessary that we should build better houses; it is not necessary probably that we shall have better automobiles; it is not necessary that at the hotel de luxe in Atlantic City, or elewhere, there shall be servants in livery to open the door as you and I pass through; we may use our own energies to get the door open, and trust it to close after us; it may not be necessary that at the clubrooms there shall be servants to strike a match and

light the gentleman's cigar. He may be able to light his cigar himself. And it may not be absolutely necessary that he shall have the cigar! I use these only as illustrations. You can think of the thousands of luxuries that may be swept away. We may have to clear the deck very completely for action.

But two things can not go—the strength, the preparation, the coöperation to win the war, and the preservation of our institutions of education that the war shall not be lost after it is won. Mr. Jefferson was right when he said, "If we people expect to be free and independent and at the same time ignorant and illiterate, we will be much disappointed." That condition has never obtained, and from the nature of the case it can not obtain. He said the only thing he could think of in a democracy worse than universal ignorance was that a very few should be educated and the masses illiterate; that the masses and the gullibility of the masses would be a temptation to the highly educated to exploit the people, and all would be corrupted together. Better be ignorant together than have such a condition exist. If any one doubts, look across the Rio Grande; if any one believes that a democracy can be built with ignorance, look at Russia, twenty millions of people unable to read and write in their own language—approximately that many out of one hundred and eighty million.

Democracy and democratic government are not easy things to attain and to maintain. The most difficult form of government in all the world is democracy, so difficult that Plato said that democracy could not continue to exist, that every democracy must finally go out in corruption and the rule of the mob. Two hundred and fifty years proved the truth of his saying, presumably. The Roman republic, partially democratic, was taken over by the Empire, and for nearly two thousand years no one was foolhardy enough to attempt to establish a democracy on any large scale, and there is none in its present form to-day one hundred and fifty years old.

Democracy requires universal intelligence. And when the war is over and the great problems that will come to us have to be solved, our democracy will require a preparation and a training far greater than anything that we have ever yet had in this country.

Now, I want to talk to you to-day on the problems of education, and I wish you would bear the message, as you will so well, to your people.

First, unfortunately, the war is not yet over, and it may not be over when you meet again here or somewhere else next year, and probably not the next, nor the next, nor the next. We

are beginning to understand it now. When it began, I suppose, everybody thought that it would be a brief war. I remember that within two months or less after the war began I was making a commencement address for a college—in the autumn rather than in the spring, and I said on the spur of the moment, "Ten months from now, when this war is ended, and the world begins to be readjusted, etc." But the ten months have gone by. Mr. Kitchin said, "Probably three years will be required to finish the war." Nobody believed him, but the three years have gone by. And we heard it everywhere that our boys would not have to go to France, that the war would be over before six months, before Christmas, but the six months have gone by and twelve months, and the war is not over yet; and the central empires have vast control, far more than they had in the beginning, and they are not yet exhausted. The great task is on. Russia has fallen down, and fourteen millions of people, soldiers under arms, are not longer threatening the eastern border of Germany. The place that was weak has become strong, and it makes our task all the more difficult; and before the war is over it may shift itself down, as it has now shifted itself down, largely to a problem of the engineering, and the task of the Allies in engineering in its broad sense is at least ten times as large as that of the central allies. France and Germany fight on somewhat equal terms—if they had equal resources, and an equal number of men—because each faces the battle line, the difficulty or the disadvantage to France being that it is on her territory, and not on the German territory, or the Austrian territory. But England must throw her soldiers, her men, her supplies, her food, across the channel. They must come across the sea from Canada, from Australia, from New Zealand; the same for us across a continent, across a mountainous country, across the seas, men, munitions, food to help win this war. If China should come in, there would be more difficulty yet.

When the war began, you should not forget that when England entered it she had made up her mind practically over night as to whether she should fight, and having decided to do so, her army had to be in France in the fewest days possible; and she had no army, had to depend on volunteers, and, as is always the case, those were the best trained men from the colleges and universities who responded, young men of high ideals. They volunteered, men who had been trained in chemistry, in various forms of engineering, very scholarly men, with their high ideals volunteered, and entered the ranks as privates; and they made a new kind of warfare, and in those first days the wastage was very large, and it was a wastage of the best. And the same was

true of France. Within eighteen months three hundred and fifty artists of France, of one kind and another, with world-wide reputation, some of them, died in the trenches or as a result of the war in the camps and hospitals; the same sort of things was true in England.

The old type of warfare could be typified very well by a man on horse back striking his spurs into his horse's flanks, dashing down the line, flourishing his sword in the moonlight. This is not of that type. These are the days of engineers, where the mechanics are necessary, where high power explosives and projectiles that will go ten, twenty to seventy-six miles are used. It has come about, with the airplane, with the submarine, with the devices and discoveries of a chemical laboratory, with poisonous gases and liquid flame, that simple courage and devotion and bravery, valuable as they are, do not win against these things.

When we entered the war immediately the request was made of us for twelve thousand engineers and skilled workmen to go to France and to England and rebuild their means of transportation. We must build ships to carry our men and our food and our supplies across the seas, and the ship yards must be built, and the mines must be exploited. We have taken over the railways. Those who travel over them know that they are not in as good condition as two years ago, but we had, when the war began, only about fifty thousand engineers in the United States; thirty-six thousand, almost exactly, had graduated from colleges, universities and technical schools in all forms of engineering within the last twenty-five years before the war. In chemical and hydro-electrical and other forms of engineering thirty-six thousand graduates. Some go into the profession, but many have died in the twenty-five years, and there were not many graduates before that time—perhaps six thousand would be the maximum. And how quickly will they be used up!

And we will be in the condition that England is in regard to physicians. Three months ago no more could be spared from England for the front. It was stated a little while ago that one third of the physicians of Virginia had gone into the army, and Virginia has but few more that can go. We shall have that condition. What does it mean? It means that if the war should be long the men who are in school and college to-day must win the war by their knowledge. It may come about that one trained man out of college or technical school, or engineering school of one kind or another, will be worth a thousand, that two will be worth ten thousand of the men who can fight only with their strength and their devotion in the trenches. I do not underestimate the work of the common, ignorant soldier. I do not un-

derestimate the value of the work that the illiterate man may do, but those of you who have studied this war, who have noted day by day, know the value of these others. And it may be that we shall have yet to build railroads into the heart of continents, in order that food on new soil may be produced to be transported across the ocean to feed us. It does not behoove any wise people to underestimate the strength and the power of the enemy and the magnitude of the task. Therefore, as a matter of immediate patriotism, as a matter of one possibility of winning the war or losing it, I wish you would do what I know the Administration would like you to do—urge every boy that you speak to this year under twenty years of age if he be in school to stay there; if he be out of school to go to college; if he is in college, to remain in college until he is called to do something which no one else can do quite so well as he.

Again, where you speak to college professors, and help make sentiment, will you not urge that their colleges shall stay open during the entire year, if possible. Ask them to adjust their courses, to condense them where they can. Some things may be eliminated from a college course at this time. It may not be necessary that we shall do certain things, some things that are desirable in times of peace, and yet which are not absolutely necessary. It may be that the courses may be condensed; possibly the engineering courses reduced to thirty months instead of the thirty-six months, and those thirty months could come in two and one-half calendar years, and a boy graduating at eighteen may have finished his course in college and go out with what training the college will give him in that kind of work by the time he is twenty-one years of age. It would be unwise to use up our reserves in the beginning of the battle. We shall be very wise if we accumulate them. Probably certain other things should be done. Just let me refer to a few of these. The first draft brought into the army forty thousand and more men unable to read and write. It is not a source of strength.

The Department of Agriculture and the Food Administration are appealing that the country shall produce food and that it shall be conserved, and we are printing by the millions of dollars' worth bulletins and signs and posters and requests and appeals to the people of the country, and five and one half millions of the people can not read a word of it in any language whatever, and two million farmers can not read any appeal made to them by the Department of Agriculture or any one else in regard to the production of food. It would be very wise if now we could begin a great campaign, nation-wide, for the teaching of these grown up men and women, young men and women

some of them, at least to cultivate the ability to read and to write, so that they might read the simple appeals made by the Food Administration, so that they might read the directions in regard to growing crops, concerning deep plowing, with regard to proper fertilization, varying and rotating the crops, and other things which might be written for them in simple English, so that they could have it. For the future, it is very important.

We shall not gain strength now by disrupting our processes of education, and I speak for the Administration when I say that during the war we shall do everything possible to prevent any lowering in the efficiency of our agencies of education, and that we shall do all we can to keep all boys and girls under twenty-one years of age in school during as large a part of the year as we can.

There is being sent from my office this week a bulletin. It is a little pamphlet signed by the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Interior, the Chairman or President of the Civil Service Commission, and the Commissioner of Education, saying that there is not any demand that any children under twelve years of age shall be out of school at any time for the purpose of engaging in any kind of productive work; that practically none under fourteen should be at work; that there is no reason, as we see it, that the child labor law and the other laws for the protection of the interests of children shall be disregarded, or the requirements lowered; that for city boys and girls there is no reason why any under sixteen years of age should be out of school either summer or winter.

But I was to speak to you especially about the preparation for the democracy of the future. I said a moment ago that democracy requires universal intelligence. Democracy is government by public opinion and popular sentiment. Democracy is not government by personality, but by principle. Democracy requires of all the ability to understand underlying fundamental principles of institutional life. Democracy requires a habit of mind and a power of assembling facts, of analyzing them, of interpreting them, and arriving by the process of inductive reasoning at least at tentative conclusions and generalizations which one can hold to. Democracy requires a type of education that can not be given to small children in the period of childhood in the fundamental schools. We hear so frequently, "Give me the child until it is twelve years of age, and you may have the man or woman after that." And that is all right in a government such as Russia was where civic virtue consisted in unquestioning obedience, where you were supposed to follow your leader and to do

what you were commanded without question of right. For a stratified society like that, where social authority consists in knowing the duties of your position, and you have no desire but to stay put, all right. In a feudalistic state, where all the resources are in the hands of a few, and an overlord may direct the great masses of his serfs or tenants as to when to plant and how to cultivate and when and how to harvest, when they are not supposed to know anything of the underlying conditions and laws of nature, it would be all right. But in a country like ours, democratic in everything, it is necessary that there shall be education of a type that will enable one to understand the great forces of nature, the structure of society, the form of government in its underlying principles and give to all the power of self guidance. And that is going to be far more necessary when the war is over.

Have you tried to picture to yourself what will come then of difficulty and of problem? They were all coming to us, and many of us were beginning to have a consciousness of them. Already had we swept in this country far beyond where there were any precedents. When state legislatures meet, and when our national congress meets, they discuss problems for which and for the solution of which there are no precedents. They have swept far beyond where there are precedents, and in a government like ours we may never appeal to personality. It is an understanding of principle, and only an understanding of principles can give freedom of power and adjustment.

So if the war had not come, the troubles would have been more numerous and more difficult. Our population was increasing rapidly. When I started geography down in the little backwoods log schoolhouse in Tennessee, I learned that the population of the United States was thirty-six millions of people, and that its wealth was twenty billions of dollars—the figures for eighteen seventy. Now the population between our double oceans is a hundred and four millions or more, and our wealth accounted a year ago at two hundred and fifty billions of dollars, an increase of two hundred per cent. in these forty some odd years in population, and an increase of more than a thousand per cent. in the estimated wealth of the country. If in a like period of time our population increases the same per cent. the boys and girls who will hear you this summer will be in the prime of life still when we shall have two hundred millions of people and one city with at least ten millions of people in it; when we shall have probably a thousand billions of wealth, more than all the world has now. At present we have more than one third of all of the wealth, one seventeenth of the population.

Can you imagine the problems that would have come any way for the world of labor and capital, of transportation, of control, of ownership of public utilities, and other things of the kind? But those will be increased in importance and in difficulties because of the war.

We shall, when the war ends, be the creditor nation of the world. We were the debtor nation when it began. We shall be, in addition to that, the great commercial nation of the world, as we were not. We did not have a foreign trade of our own. We shipped our products and had much trade across the seas, but for a century we had faced between oceans the problems of our own development. We had our own forests to clear, our fields to till, our prairies to break, our streams to bridge, our mountains to develop, our mines to exploit, our roads to build, our cities to build, and other things of all kinds, and we worked at the task as no other people of the world had ever worked. In a little more than a century we conquered a continent and built here the richest civilization of the world.

Already we were beginning to face the other way, and when the war is over our goods shall be carried in our own ships; the product of our fields and mines and factories will be carried in our own ships across all the seas to all the parts of the world, financed by our own international banks under the direction of our great world merchants; and it will be a new era for us.

In addition to that, when the war is over we will be the oldest of the democracies of the world. The nations of the earth will turn to us. We are the people who have had the experience in democracy, the only country of considerable size. We are a democracy more than a few years old. We have been able, with our good common sense and our general intelligence to choose the course between autocratic organization on the one side and disorganization on the other. We have held against both sides to the middle road of democracy, of government of the people, government by the people and for the people by their representatives chosen for the purpose, according to fundamental social contracts which they have themselves entered into. We call them, constitutionally chosen, our own officers, making our own laws, and then abiding by them; and that is the lesson that must be taught to all the world. Everything that we do will be internationally interesting, whether it be in the slums of the city, out on the prairies yonder, down in the swamps by the sea, up in the mountain coves of the Rockies and the Alleghenies. The boys and girls now in the schools will control the policies of the nation and the destinies of the world. Will there

be intelligence required for it? Will there be virtue needed of a high order? Will there be need of power, or self-restraint? Will there be a need that all men be trained that they may hold their passions in leash? Will there be need of their understanding the fundamental principles of government, and holding to their constitutional guaranties, thus doing, as Mr. Taft said was necessary, protecting themselves against their moments of insanity? It is a desirable thing, is it not? Now, what are some of the things necessary for that?

First, I am going to refer to what I mentioned a moment ago. I can not conceive of us entering on that new era with five millions of grown up men and women unable to read any word in any book anywhere, with ten millions unable to read the Constitution of the United States or of their own states.

Five millions there are now who can not read or write on the ballot they would cast to determine the policy of state and nation and the destinies of the world; five million adult men and women—five and one half million. Let us suppose on the economic side of it that they are worth only ten cents a day less for productive purposes than if they were educated. Is that enough—ten cents a day? It is more nearly a dollar. But count it fifty cents—fifty cents a day is what? One hundred and seventy-five dollars a year, and five million and a half times one hundred and seventy-five is how much? We are losing that much—which would buy up the Liberty Loans—the difference between a productive power of a people unable to read and write, illiterate, and a people educated and trained. Somehow we must do away with that. There is pending in the Congress of the United States a bill known as the Smith-Bankhead Bill, providing a little fund of some fifty thousand dollars a year, to enable the Commissioner of Education, through the Bureau of Education, to start a campaign to devise plans and persuade people, legislatures and others to undertake the teaching of these grown up men and women until they can read their ballots and read the papers and read the laws that they must obey. And teach them to write so that they can write a letter to their children. A woman out in Kentucky read a letter from her daughter out in Ohio and wrote one back, and she said it was like getting out of prison walls, like she had been set free.

Second, there are approximately five million people in the United States who cannot speak the English language. They have come with our permission from all the countries of the world, largely from southern and eastern Europe. They may or may not be enemies to us, but we are asking them if they will volunteer and fight for freedom and for democracy; and they

can't understand what it is. We are learning now that it is a source of weakness and not of strength. It is easy to carry on disloyal propaganda among them. We should undertake to teach them to read English now, a task not to be postponed for the winning of the war and for democracy after the war! That we may be one people; that we may all speak one language. That all may read the newspapers in the language of the country, and the laws in the language of the country. That all may know about the opportunities offered here. There are a half million or more on the east side of New York who do not know that there is anything of America beyond the Palisades. They do not know of the wheat fields to the west, or the cotton fields to the south, or the cattle ranges, or of anything except the industrial centers from which agents come to employ them. We should assist them that they may know something of our institutional life, that they may know something of the men whom we honor and who have helped to work out our institutions, that they may know what America is and what it stands for. We must grasp this opportunity of winning the whole of these people for America, winning their intelligence and their cooperation.

More than that, we must see to it that every boy and girl in the United States gets not only a fundamental school education, but a high school education. Farming to-day is no longer taught by imitation. It is an understanding of principles of fertility of soil. Chemistry, physics, the simple life history of plants and animals, simple engineering, how to control the stream running across the fields, to preserve the moisture in the fields, and to drain them of water, the control of machinery and its use under difficult conditions, are all things that should be studied in our schools. The same kind of thing obtains in our industrial plants of various kinds. I said a moment ago, you can not teach the underlying principles of institutional life in the fundamental schools, and democratic government is government by principle and not by personality, by freedom and understanding, and not by authority from above. The characteristic of a democracy is that it is alive in all its parts. It has brains, an intelligent thing. Its brains are not centered in one place. In an autocratic organization, from one center, a wire is pulled, and this man rises and that one remains quiet, but in a democracy the thing rises like mists from the ground, everywhere to come back in rain. To keep it all alive for that future, the high school is necessary, and somehow we must bring about the opportunity of universal high school education.

Now the high schools and the fundamental schools teach only

what is known. It is the business of the university and the laboratory and the experimental station to find the truth and to test it out, so that it may be made the possession of all the people through the agencies of education for the great masses. We shall have to support and direct our institutions of higher learning, as we have not yet done. If we are wise, we will have a great national university. We will take the place that Germany has held, and there will come to our shores, to our institutions, from all the countries of the world the young men and the young women of the highest caliber, those of the best ability, that they may get the higher training. And it will be fortunate if they can get the training here in this home of democracy and carry the ideal back, when they return to their homes with their technical knowledge.

There is great danger that there shall be lowering of the efficiency of our schools through the fact that teachers are taken by the draft into the army, young men of the best training, with scientific knowledge, especially those who would teach technical things. There is much argument now as to whether, for instance, we shall give technical training and make ourselves efficient. I heard a man say the other day, an educator, "No, we can not afford that. We can not follow Germany, for instance, in efficiency of education." Now, the trouble with Germany is not her strength. The trouble is her philosophy is wrong. Because a strong man with good muscles and strength and control of his body may happen to be an evil man is no reason we should all be sick and anæmic lest we may ourselves go wrong. What we want to do for a man is to train him, develop him, give him all of the physical power possible, all of the mental power, all of the knowledge, and all of the skill, and then give him strong purpose and good will, a right philosophy with it. Give us more of industrial education, more of technical education, more of the knowledge of the forces of nature and how to apply them, so that we may get a better result for the energies that we expend; and then give to us, to all of the people strong purpose, good will, working not for our own individual selfish purposes, and not for the selfish purposes of the nation, because Americanism does not mean that we shall put our own selves above the other people of the world, except in service. We are working now and fighting as never before, expending our money and willing to expend all, that there may come to all the world freedom and peace, and we will not forget that all the world includes all of its parts and all of its people.

We are not fighting because of hatred. We are fighting because of love. We are not fighting for destruction; we are fight-

ing for construction and for development. We will not forget what Americanism and democracy are, while we are fighting for democracy and for the American spirit that it may come to all the world.

# THE PROVINCE OF JOURNALISM IN WAR

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War quickens all public consciousness. There never was a time when journalism so quickened into consciousness of its relation to the public as in the agony and exaltation of a war, waking all the world. In peace, journalists study this lesson. In war they learn it. They cannot escape it. News, editorials, advertisements, all become representative of a public need and bear a public relation. Every newspaper man learns,

> There is a mystery in the soul of State
> Which hath an operation more divine
> Than breath or pen can give expression to.

In peace journalism may seek to be personal. In war it must become national, serving, expressing, educating, illuminating the public. Every working journalist through years of experience knows how he began with the confident hope and desire that in time, if success came, he would win a personal expression and utterance. Each journalist learns that his professional work is best done when he expresses what without him would lie dormant in the souls of men. Even in the day's affairs the editorial writer learns that his greater work is to interpret and render visible the emotion, will and action of city, state and nation.

The press is always representative, interpreting and expressing the public, as much in peace as in international conflict. Its work is only less apparent in peace, but not different. No exposure brings reform unless the public is ready for it. An editorial needs news as its text because the public has opinion only as a cause for opinion exists. The perspective of news is but another term for the public viewpoint. "Newspapers," said an American statesman, Governor Tilden, "use issues; they cannot make them. Events and the acts of men, of parties and of governments make issues."

When we talk of the "presentation of news" the substance behind the phrase is the task of so writing the history of a day,

headline and story, first-page leaders to the last item, that the final interest of the public as a whole shall be served by publicity, so used that the public shall know itself, its good and its evil, its act and its desire, its call to reform and its thrill at achievement. When conflict comes, all this is a thousandfold increased, and the journalist is forced to see the fiduciary and representative character of his work.

Newspapers and the journalist create the consciousness in which a great Republic rises equal to a great task. Recruiting and the draft in a free people would be impossible without the newspaper, and a press, American and English, printed in a tongue far flung from the Orkneys across the American continent to New Zealand becomes the sentiment instrument of the world's mightier fate. In this task every man on a newspaper shares in uttering this deep note of determination throughout the English-speaking race.

Through the American press the American people in 1914 uttered its verdict on crimes against law and humanity with which the war began. The condemnation of broken treaties, of violated rights, of international law set at naught, was heard across the ocean, prefiguring the sure and certain decision of posterity. As a great journalist, Benjamin Franklin said: "If you would know what posterity will say, a thousand leagues have nearly the same effect with a thousand years."

Our government, following the policy of Washington, our President when last all Europe was aflame, was silent. None spoke. No officer of the government had a right to speak. No public man raised his voice. Even Theadore Roosevelt—in October, 1914, published an article taking the ground that Belgium was outside our national jurisdiction. The American press alone spoke for the nation. The dire reports from day to day through those awful opening months of the war were laid before the people of the United States. The crimes of the Imperial German Government were denounced. The diplomatic dispatches which recorded the plot, the perfidy and the prostitution of all principles in the policy, the preparation and the brutal acts of the Central Powers were printed in our daily newspapers and these newspapers, led by the *New York Times,* reprinted the "Blue Books," "White Books," "Yellow Books," and "Black Books" as issued by the belligerent governments. They had an astounding circulation, greater even than in England and unknown in other lands. The press of the belligerent lands was necessarily held to stand by its country, as was fit and necessary. The neutral lands were in a terror, justified by all that has come since. The American press alone was free and it used its free-

dom with power and with imperial justice The great cause of Law, Justice, Righteousness and Mercy vs. The Imperial German Government and its allies was tried in the columns of the American Press. Both sides were heard. Every important document was laid before the American people. Nothing that the two Central Powers said through rulers, ministers, universities, press or people but came before the American people, the one independent, fearless and impartial jury left impanelled by Humanity itself. There was neither haste nor hate. There was no lack of advocates for both sides. Our own citizens were not of one mind. There were those whose birth, whose descent, whose training, and whose sympathy endeared Germany to them. They were heard. No voice was silenced until the utterance of yesterday became the treason of the day, because the American people as a whole, having, through its press, heard all, considered all known, all that could be said for all and for both, rose as one man for the cause of Law, of Justice, of Righteousness and of Mercy, and the great assize of Humanity was closed by a verdict to-day unanimous, Law, Liberty and Democracy.

No greater service has been rendered to civilization by a free press since the printing press cast off its first impression of a newspaper. The cause of freedom was won through the freedom of the press. The American newspaper impartially placed the facts before the court. It presented every plea and every argument. Nothing was denied to the imperial criminal at the bar of humanity. A verdict of guilty was rendered, and this great jury of 100,000,000 has sent a Sheriff by the name of Pershing to enforce judgment and execute the sentence with a posse whose size is only to be measured by the fighting manhood of an embattled nation.

The press of the United States which prepared the land for this righteous verdict prepared it also for war. Of all the English-speaking lands and dominions, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States, three years ago in 1915, none would have been deemed likely to pass a sweeping draft act calling on all its manhood from 21 to 31 to fall into lines. All manner of predictions were rife that in this country no draft could be enacted or, if enacted, enforced without resistance. All were wrong. The American people has led all the rest. England is still debating a draft for Ireland. This country has more men of Irish descent than Ireland itself, but freedom, justice and self-government make all national demands and duties easily borne. No race has furnished more volunteers and none better soldiers than Americans who look back upon Ireland as the past home and look forward to her self-government as one

fruit of their service side by side with English troops in this war. Canada hesitated until this year. Australia, New Zealand, and the South African Commonwealth refuse a draft and find their men running short. In its draft, the American people has led all the English-speaking lands.

The press of the United States made possible this unanimous decision of a great people. The United States has one-half the newspapers, daily and weekly, in the world. With one-fifteenth of the population of the world, it has nearly half of the newspaper circulation of the world and considerably more than half of the earth's daily issues. Its cities have three daily issues to the family, where other cities have not one. Nothing like our weekly country press exists the world over. It is present in every hamlet. It enters every rural home, and our population is one-half rural. The circulation of the press of a country is the measure of its consciousness, its convictions and its capacity to act as one. As all men and women read the news, know their national duty, and read the same appeals for its discharge, their common united action is alone possible.

In war, the newspaper immeasurably increases the audience of the speaker on the one universal subject. Through the press the President has the nation and the world for an audience, literally speaking *urbi et orbi* as no man, pontiff or sovereign ever spake before. Each man upon the platform speaks through the newspaper to more than any hall can hold if he understands and practices the wisdom of the abstract as the key to the publicity of the newspaper. The shortest speech will fill two columns. A long discourse of an hour would cover a page. The argument and logical plea of any speech can be put in 200 words. An abstract of 600 will cover the essential utterance of any speech. Such a summary, compact in thought and effective in diction, will be printed when neither a speech nor an ordinary report will find space in a daily. If pains be taken at this point and in this fashion, the speech reaches a multitude whom no man can number.

The daily news of the daily newspaper furnishes also the text and texture with which a ready speaker holds an audience. Every morning has its momentous record; every evening chronicles a great event. The stage of news is to-day held by the war. Nothing so fixes the attention of an audience and so sets in the memory of his hearers, the speaker's audience, as apt and apposite reference to the day's chronicle. Instantly the audience is listening, recalling the event read, and understanding its interpretation. Speakers on the war roll on endlessly. They are, alas, but too similar! They repeat argument and emotion. The man cannot hold an audience on the well-worn theme, heart-compelling as

it is, unless by daily reading and fresh constant knowledge of the day's and hour's news, a speaker finds there his argument and his appeal.

Without newspapers, a democracy could not exist over a continent, could not know as one, think as one, and act as one. The newspaper, daily and weekly, has made our vast population transparent. Our vast citizenship sees eye to eye, and common news creates a common opinion, will, resolution and act.

The newspapers themselves feel and show the result of this vast opportunity for the common universal action of 100,000,000 of the people.

The American press had small division as to the great issue of this world war. But for the press in various languages, it would have been practically one. All its language divisions will in due time disappear. We know but one law and one allegiance. The day will come when the American people will know but one tongue in its press. But it is one of the rights of a free press that adults should be on an equality in gaining news and forming opinions, and the way to secure one tongue is to require one language of all citizens, to forward this end through education and patiently wait until it comes.

Practically united in their judgment on the issue of the war, the English press was divided at the start and through two years and more on our entrance into the war. In December, 1915, a survey of the files of the daily and weekly press, a costly task, taking weeks, showed that the dailies in our greater cities and other centers of urban population favored war by the United States. The smaller dailies and the weekly press except in parts of the East and on our borders were either opposed to this action or urged delay. Through all of 1916, the press of the land was slowly mirroring the change which took place in public sentiment. The press led, the people followed, and as the people followed the press advanced. Probably only the professional newspaper man knows by how many channels of information a newspaper knows the changing sentiments of its readers, leads, directs and guides, moves a great community along a chosen path and is itself aware how its news and editorials move and have been moved by the vast tides of national action. A great people rooted in peace, trusting that men are good and not evil, itself without greed, ambition or selfish desire, awakes but slowly to the great conspiracy and the vast plot which sought world dominion at Berlin.

The American press and the American press more than any other agency awoke the American people to its duty. Great city newspapers led. All read the news, and the news changed the

opinion of all as evidence visibly changes the expression and opinion of a jury. In a year a land which had been in doubt doubted no longer. Speaking as a journalist not in the active work of his calling but sedulously observing the tides of opinion, I firmly believe that from August, 1914, to the winter of 1915-16 the American people was in profound doubt as to its duty, seeking the light, but not ready for war. The absence of decisive action by either of the great parties made easier, sober, balanced and impartial thought. By the opening of 1917, the set of the tide was clear in our dailies and weeklies. I have during the progress of the war addressed a number of State Editorial Association meetings, in which the weekly press was strongly represented, and I have seen the process in progress. It ended as the sober thought of the American people, fed with the news and enlightened by the editorials of its press, always will end, in the triumph of the right.

This brought war, and war brought new duties to the American newspaper. Now, as in the Civil War, the need for the censorship of its columns came and the American daily has censored its own news. The Civil War was marked by many and constant indiscretions; but not this war. Never has a great call better met a great duty and more unselfishly discharged. Only men familiar with the newspaper, newspaper life, and newspaper men can know how completely and with what whole-souled devotion the American daily has excluded from its columns news and criticism which were in analogous cases published by English newspapers. Papers on the continent of Europe have always been under a different regime. The American press, like the nation, has closed up shoulder to shoulder, and forgotten self in the larger national duty. News passing through the entire community and known to the enemy has been jealously and patriotically excluded. How much and how often the public it serves will never know.

The English Government has been far more liberal in furnishing personal news and in its treatment of the casualty list. It has realized that national morale rests on national confidence in national patriotism and that by the open and exact truth strong nations grow strong in the house of battle and the stress of war.

But it is not by news alone that nations are fed and inspired in war and their best energies are best directed. Sound opinion is also demanded or men are left without leadership. The great peril of the future is that the American people will not realize that every short-coming of the current day is due to the failure of the American people to be equal to the great duty of pre-

serving the peace of the world by a military establishment in whose burdens and service all alike share. National duties can only be discharged by national service. You can no more be nationally secure without a national army than without a national ballot. You can no more delegate national military duties to a select few than you can delegate national political duties to a select few. Every newspaperman easily learns that you can make vigorous, efficient and vital only those things in which all share and of which all know, and have experienced. It is hard enough to keep these efficient. What would our schools be if only a few people went to school? Nothing but universal attendance saves them, and as it is, it is difficult to secure high standards. Urge, argue, expound and predict future perils now come true, as the newspaper might on the need of adequate military forces, all fell on heedless ears in a land where a minute share of the nation's manhood had experienced military service. This will always be the case.

The duty of the hour for the newspaper is to show and prove, and the proof is abundant and universal, that every lack to-day is due not to men, system or individual short-coming but to national refusal to be ready and prepared. Never again must a great nation watch in anxiety the possibility of great disasters for lack of preparation.

No vigilance, no prescience, no skill, no argument will be of avail from the newspaper unless it is addressed to a nation where enough men have served to create a general public opinion and criticism. You, as speakers, have no more important duty than to make your audiences aware that they and they alone are responsible for asking the impossible and expecting military efficiency in war without military preparation in peace.

Unless the American people learns this, when peace with victory comes, it will be fruitless. We are fighting for no conquest and no national advantage. The American people proposes to create a new Heaven and a new Earth, a new heaven of justice, and a new earth of equality and safety for small lands and large.

The greatest and most important function of a free press and of a free people is to prepare it to discharge the coming responsibility of keeping the world's peace. We have shunned this duty, we have dreaded to take our place in a world system which required the world over Law, Justice, Righteousness, Order, Mercy and Everlasting Peace. These things once won can be maintained by a peace which relative to the task will be as powerful as that which keeps peace of the union.

In 1787 we ran a ring-fence about 13 colonies to keep the peace forevermore, and only a deadly evil over which we com-

promised prevented perpetual peace. The Monroe Doctrine excluded aggressive war and guaranteed outer peace for a hemisphere. To-day we propose to put the ring-fence of peace around the world and for this task the American newspaper can alone prepare the American people.

# SOLVING PROBLEMS OF IMMIGRANT AND ALIEN

By Raymond F. Crist,

*Deputy Commissioner of Naturalization, Department of Labor*

The Bureau of Naturalization is carrying on one of the largest nation-building undertakings to be found in any government activity. This work consists in bringing together the public schools of the United States and the adult foreigner and the immigrant who is a candidate for citizenship honors. The public schools in the United States have struggled over the problem of securing the attendance upon their night classes of the adult foreigner for years, but without success. The plan of the Bureau of Naturalization has been pronounced to be the key to this situation. Under the naturalization law the clerks of about 2500 naturalization courts all over the United States send duplicates of all naturalization papers, monthly, to the Bureau of Naturalization. From these papers the Bureau transcribes the name, address, nationality, and a great deal of additional information regarding the candidates for citizenship and their wives, and sends this information to the public schools in the communities where these foreigners live. The public school authorities at once endeavor to get these ambitious foreigners into the public schools. They have their attendance officers and others call upon these immigrants and urge them to attend the citizenship classes which they have organized during the last three or four years at the instance of this Bureau for the instruction and preparation of these candidates for citizenship responsibilities. At the same time that these names are sent to the public schools by the Bureau of Naturalization, it addresses a friendly, personal letter to each of these candidates, telling them that the United States Government is interested in their behalf and urging them to attend these classes.

This work has been going on for the last three years between the public schools and the Bureau of Naturalization. In the first scholastic year the Bureau started this work with 38 of the principal cities of the United States. In these cities the superintendents of schools have agreed to establish night classes to teach citizenship responsibilities to all of the candidates for citi-

zenship whom the Bureau would send to them. With the end of the scholastic year over 600 cities and towns had joined with the Bureau of Naturalization in this fundamental, patriotic uplift work. This plan for the linking together of the public schools and the Bureau of Naturalization was inaugurated before the outbreak of the present European conflict. Since that time it has continued to grow. During the present year in over 1800 cities, towns and small communities the superintendents of schools have pledged their active coöperation with the Bureau of Naturalization in this great constructive work in citizenship. Under the law the Bureau of Naturalization has distributed an outline course of instruction for the use of the public school teacher. It is also authorized by law to distribute to the candidates for citizenship in the public schools a textbook and without cost to the immigrant. It is perfecting arrangements with the various branches of the government by which it will secure motion-picture films of various governmental activities and furnish these films to the school authorities wherever motion-picture projectors are provided. In this way the Bureau will present the activities of the government to these foreign groups and enable them to see in what manner "government by the people" is in fact "for the people"—whether they be of native or foreign birth, whether they be citizens or non-citizens.

This Bureau also has furnished the public school teachers throughout the United States with the preliminary naturalization forms for use in the class-rooms. In the hands of these teachers of the public schools, these forms have been used in many, many instances as the basis for securing the applications of all candidates for citizenship in these classes. When it is understood that eighty per cent. or more of the adult foreign-born students in these night classes are not candidates for citizenship, it can readily be seen that the greatest force has been set into motion for the awakening in the breast of every foreigner of that ambition that is or ought to be in the soul of every foreigner—the ambition to become an American citizen. With the support which the public schools are giving to this nation-building work of the Bureau of Naturalization, every foreigner should be inspired to become an American citizen, for in the class-rooms the school teachers are imparting the spirit of the Constitution and laws of the United States, as well as the mere words and form. This is the first occasion in the history of America that the United States Government has undertaken to inculcate the spirit and principles, as well as the soul of America. Every other profession and calling, save the highest of all professions and callings, has been given special thought and development during

the decades gone by; the highest of all professions, the profession of self-government—the spirit which is necessary to awaken in an individual to enable him to properly govern himself—has lain neglected and has been completely ignored by these two governmental agencies, the State public schools and the Federal Government. All this citizenship instruction is being carried on through the medium of what the foreigner calls "United States," or, in American English; American institutions of government and love for them is being imparted to these foreigners through the medium of our tongue. The desire for the mastery of our tongue constitutes the bond which is developed quickly between the American-born school teacher and her foreign-born adult student.

# SOME FACTS ABOUT NATURALIZATION

By O. T. Moore,

*Chief Examiner, Department of Naturalization, Department of Labor*

The question may be viewed from more than one standpoint. There are the problems of the alien question from the viewpoint of the alien, and from the viewpoint of the government. From the viewpoint of the alien, the problem resolves itself into a number of phases, primarily the securing of better employment, the surrounding of himself with better conditions of living, better educational facilities, and better sanitary conditions, and as a final analysis of it, more self-respect.

From the government's viewpoint, from the viewpoint of the general welfare of the country, it is resolved again into several specifications.

One great problem confronting the government is the distribution of the immigrants to this country. At the present time probably seventy-five per cent. of all the immigrants arriving in this country settle in a congested area, which might be described by a circle with New York City as a radius, and the radius need be not more than two hundred and fifty miles; in other words, three-fourths of the entire number of immigrants living here are found within two hundred miles of the city of New York. That is a very great problem that the government has in the handling of the alien question.

Another phase of the question is that a large number of the aliens arriving in this country come from countries largely engaged in agricultural pursuits. Those aliens are skilled in agriculture. They come to this country, settle in this restricted area that I speak of, which is quite essentially not an agricultural district. They settle in our larger cities and become engaged not in agriculture, but in other forms of labor at which they are not skilled. They are therefore not rendering the full, efficient service that might be rendered if they were diverted to the occupation in which they are more skilled.

Together with this settlement in this restricted area comes the colonization which we find in all these eastern cities. In many

of our eastern cities are found thousands of aliens congregated in little Bohemia, little Poland, little Italy, etc. In each of our larger eastern cities are numbers of such settlements. Within those settlements can be found great numbers of aliens who have lived in this country for years without ever acquiring our language. This is particularly true among the women. Women in these colonized settlements are engaged in their home occupations; they are not thrown out among the people as the male members of the family are. Their associates are members of their own race; and I have in many instances encountered women who have lived twenty-five years in this country who are unable to carry on a simple conversation in the English language.

One specific instance of that was in New Haven, Connecticut, a noted center of learning in the United States. On the east side of New Haven there is an Italian settlement in which hundreds of foreign born citizens live who do not speak our language, who have lived there for years. This is certainly not a satisfactory way to assimilate and Americanize the alien who comes to our shores.

With that goes the question of efficient citizenship. These people up to very recent years were permitted to acquire citizenship here. Very few restrictions were thrown about the acquiring of citizenship until the last few years. As a consequence, thousands of people have been clothed with citizenship who are not qualified in any way to exercise the function; hence a very large inefficient citizenship resulted. The whole question might be covered in two classifications: Americanization on one hand and loyalty. In the final analysis, loyalty would be the object to be accomplished. We must secure the absolute loyalty of all the foreigners who come to our shores, and with that loyalty necessarily goes efficiency.

Strange to relate, one great solution for both sides—for the immigrant of all his difficulties and his problems and for the country—is education. To the average alien who comes to this country, and the most of them land in the city of New York, the Statue of Liberty is typical of what he has come for. The most of them have come to this country from countries where in many instances they have been oppressed, and they have necessarily built up a great ideal of democracy where they will go and be taken in with open arms, and be given an opportunity to exercise the functions of citizenship in a democracy. Unfortunately, in our careless way of handling things, there have been many rude awakenings from this idealistic viewpoint.

We have permitted these foreign people to live here in ignorance of our language and customs, carrying on the language

and customs from which they come. As a result they are ready prey to any clever propagandist who happens to come from their native country and speaks their native language. They are very easily approached by him, and they have no influence here that would stabilize them and deter them from following his propaganda. This is why the Bolsheviki of Russia and those working against the United States receive so much support.

One of the first attempts to solve the alien situation in recent times dates back to the naturalization laws of 1906. Up to 1906 it was possible for thousands of men to be clothed with citizenship annually, who had no conception of our form of government, and did not even speak the language of the country. The only method whereby they were included in citizenship was through crafty politicians of their own race to whom they were very easy prey. It was commonly heard in years gone by that a certain man with a foreign-sounding name was able to swing the Italian votes of this town, and in another place a certain man would be able to swing the Bohemian vote and the Polish vote, etc. If it was necessary to carry an election and people were careless as to the use of their money and citizenship at the same time, it was possible to swing many wards by urging certain gentlemen of influence to work among people of their own nationality.

In one of the cities of northern New England ninety-five per cent. of the voting strength of two of the principal wards of the city are foreigners of one race. When you consider that that is the balance of power politically in that city, it is very easy to see how the improper use of this alien voting strength of the city might be used. The Act of Congress of 1906 revised and codified the naturalization law and placed the law under federal control. It was the first time that the Federal Government had ever exercised its control over naturalization in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. Every applicant for citizenship at this time has an investigation of his application by representatives of the government. A representative of the government is present in court and either attends to or oversees the admission of citizenship. The opportunity for wholesale frauds in naturalization is therefore eliminated. Furthermore the standing of the naturalization before the courts has resulted in raising very materially the standards of citizenship as viewed by the court. At the present time, in order to be admitted to citizenship a man must satisfy the court that he is in every way qualified.

In the local court at the last hearing on naturalization last Monday, out of forty-two men who applied for citizenship, sixteen of the cases were continued for periods from three months

to one year, in order that the applicant might attend public night school and become better qualified to exercise the duties of citizenship, and that they might have a better understanding of our system of government. Some were men unable to read; they were advised to go to the public night school and learn how to read. This particular judge thought that a man in order to exercise the functions of citizenship intelligently should be able to read the language of the country.

I regret to state it is not a universal ruling, because it comes under that specific interpretation of the law that the court must be in every wise satisfied that the applicant is qualified for citizenship. That is a matter of judicial discretion, and some of our old-time politician judges are,—well, it is rather difficult to impress upon them the fact that an understanding of the language and the customs of the country are necessary in order that an applicant be in every way qualified for citizenship.

I have had many experiences in that particular where a man, undoubtedly honest, respectable, law-abiding, had lived in the country for years, but spoke very poor English, had made no attempt to equip himself either with the language or an idea of our customs or government. "Oh," the court would say, "he is a good, honest old man; let him in. It is going to do no particular harm to let this particular case in." But when that case is multiplied by thousands, it very much depreciates the standard of citizenship.

But, as I stated, the attitude of the courts seems to be more and more towards the other viewpoint, and last year there were a great many thousands of applications for citizenship continued for the specific purpose that the applicant attend school and acquaint himself with our system of government.

It is the opinion of the Naturalization Department that without question every applicant for citizenship, every person admitted to citizenship, should be able to read and write and speak the English language. The only standard of education outlined in the naturalization law as it stands is that a man sign his petition in his own handwriting, and that he be able to speak the English language. Speaking the English language, under the interpretation of some judges, is being able to say "Yes" as "Yah" and "No," the sum total of his vocabulary not being more than those two words. But I am very glad to state that is not universal or uniform in any way, and is not extensive. It is very limited. Only a few judges of my acquaintance are lenient in that respect. The public schools are being equipped with night schools for adult education, and the tendency is decidedly to the contrary.

A specific instance that I have in mind shows the necessity for supervision, federal supervision of naturalization. In the early stages of the European war, before the United States entered the war, there was an applicant for citizenship in Baltimore, a man of very fine appearance, intelligence, apparently of very high standing in the community in which he lived at the time, who wanted to acquire citizenship. As witnesses he had two of the most reputable men of the city of Baltimore and of the state of Maryland. One of the men identified with the matter was at the head of one of the patriotic societies of the state. I had an anonymous communication in regard to that man's case with a question as to his intention, and a question as to his possible loyalty. I went to the witnesses, men I know to be of the highest standing and of unquestioned integrity, and put the proposition up to each of them. "Can you say without question that this man intends to become a citizen in good faith and intends to relinquish his former allegiance without any qualification?" Each said he could. I was not satisfied, and made a further investigation; but was unable to find anything, any cloud on which to base an objection to the admission to citizenship of this man. He was married to an American woman, had lived twenty years in the United States, renounced his allegiance to the German Emperor, stated that his great urgency in acquiring citizenship at this time was to go to Denmark where he was to meet his mother and bring her to this country. I told the court my doubts in this case and the only basis I had for them. But after a final consideration, he was admitted to citizenship. He acquired a passport from our State Department, and inside of three weeks he was on a German battleship and serving in the German navy. Inside of three months he had been killed in the early campaign in France.

I am asked, Are there any states where an unnaturalized alien is permitted to vote? I regret to state that that question must be answered in the affirmative. There has been some agitation very recently on that question, and a good deal of misinformation, I think, has been given out regarding the question; but there are some states in the United States where an alien can vote on what is known as his first paper. If an alien who lands in New York goes straight away to Indiana—I mention Indiana because it is one of the states—he can file his first paper immediately. As soon as he has complied with the local residence requirements, so many months in the state, so many days in the country, and so many days in the voting precinct, he can vote. And in the state of Indiana thousands of aliens, who recently arrived in the United States, have taken out their first papers in order to vote in the

coming election, regardless of their desires toward the country; their intention has never been proven. They just simply appear before an officer and say, "It is my intention to become a citizen," and by that act they are duly qualified voters of the state of Indiana. And that same is true of Texas. I will not endeavor to mention the states, but it is less than the ten that were given in the newspapers throughout the United States. In the recent agitation of that question Oregon was included and Alabama was included. In neither of those two states can an alien declare his intention and vote.

Nebraska is still one of the states. Legislation is pending in South Dakota, legislation is pending in Texas, legislation is pending in Oregon, legislation is pending in Nebraska, but Wisconsin, I believe, by an amendment to its constitution in 1912, left the ranks, and Michigan by an amendment to its constitution in 1896.

The past bulletins of the Commissioner of Naturalization have covered all of these various points. I believe it was Thomas Jefferson who said that fundamentally education under a republican form of government is an inherent right.

In 1913 Mr. Raymond F. Crist, Deputy Commissioner of Naturalization, began a campaign in his official position to encourage —to have started in the cities throughout the United States night schools for the education of applicants for citizenship. At the close of the last school year two thousand cities and towns in the United States had inaugurated night schools where alien adults might attend school and learn to speak and read and write English and to acquaint themselves with our system of government. These night schools are all of them coöperating with our Bureau in this particular. It is possible now for the judge of this local court to say to an applicant for citizenship, "You are not at the present time qualified. There is no question about your honesty, about your character, about the required period of residence in your case, but you are not educationally qualified. You do not understand sufficiently our system of government. If you will go to night school for the next six months and come back I will give you another opportunity to qualify for your citizenship." And that sort of a statement from a court is possible from over two thousand cities of the United States to-day, due to the campaign which was begun by Mr. Crist four years ago.

The system followed is this: At the end of each month duplicates of all applications for citizenships, both first paper and second paper, are forwarded to the Bureau of Naturalization in Washington. Immediately upon their receipt a letter is addressed

to each of these persons, and to the wife of each of these persons, if they are married, advising them that there is a night school conducted in their vicinity, that they will be able to secure free at the public night school education that will qualify them for admission later. At the same time a card is sent to the head of the public institution in each of these cities, giving the name and address and certain other facts regarding each of these persons. In various cities they have various methods of appealing to these people. In some cities they work through the public welfare department. In other cities through the associated charities of the city, and a great many agencies are brought to bear. In some cities the church organizations are active; in other cities the patriotic organizations, the G. A. R., the commercial societies, etc., are active.

Shortly after the naturalization reform law was passed, in President Roosevelt's administration, I heard him say that it was the greatest reform legislation of his administration. And I want to say in closing that the present activities of the Bureau in this educational campaign have the warm approval and endorsement of President Wilson.

# THE AMERICAN RED CROSS

By Harvey D. Gibson,

*General Manager of the American Red Cross*

It was very difficult to get any idea at the time America entered the war of exactly what the fields of relief would develop to be. I do not think that any of us can ever be thankful enough, —you, the people abroad and ourselves, in the organization of the Red Cross,—that such a very happy selection was made as of Mr. Henry P. Davison, the chairman of the War Council.

I say without any hesitation whatever that I do not believe that there is another man in the world that could have had that man's vision of what it was possible for the Red Cross organization to do for good in the present war.

The work of the Red Cross abroad is just as varied and different from any conception that any Red Cross society in the world has had of Red Cross work in the past as one can possibly imagine.

Generally speaking, there are three big fields of relief which have developed in this situation. The first field of relief, and the field of relief which stands uppermost in our minds all the time, is that of rendering relief to the American soldiers in the camps and cantonments in this country and after they go abroad. This field of relief has been developing greatly, and now with the entire approval and hearty coöperation of the War Department we have gotten a pretty good organization established at these various camps. I will explain more about it later.

The second field of relief, almost equally important, it seems to me, is what we know as civilian relief, that which has to do with the families and dependents of the soldiers and sailors who have gone to the front. We have developed a new name in connection with this work which was not known before the war, known as "Home Service."

The third field of relief is the work which we are doing in some seven or eight foreign lands, particularly in France, Great Britain and Italy, at the present time.

At the camps a very pretty situation for the Red Cross exists. It is somewhat of a show window for the Red Cross work

so far as this country is concerned. At each camp our head man is what we call a camp field director. Now, first of all in the Red Cross, we think of equipping and outfitting the soldier in emergency cases, supplementing the army. So in each one of these camps we have a Red Cross warehouse which has been constructed for us by the War Department. In this Red Cross warehouse we have, or where we have not, we shall have, a complete supply of all kinds of emergency equipment which might be used in emergencies to supplement the army equipment. This also applies to the camps where the navy men are now in training. In these warehouses we have fifty or sixty thousand sweaters, fifty thousand pairs of socks, a lot of wristlets, mufflers, etc. We have certain quantities of the various drugs which might not in emergencies be had in the hospitals, or that might be wasted by fire,—ether and quinine and things of that kind. Those things are in these warehouses, and it would please the Red Cross if we should never need to give out any of those things. But we know that the American men and women want the Red Cross to have these supplies there to answer the call should any calls come. We also have blankets. We do not have them to give to soldiers, but we have them to put out and loan to soldiers upon the approval of the commanding officer of the camp should at any time a soldier lose his blanket and be unable to get one for the night; and he gives it back when he gets another one. We think we have that pretty well covered.

The next most important work perhaps at the camps is the home service work. Each camp director has under his supervision a director of the home service. This man has to do with assuring the boys who are at the camp of the condition of their families throughout the United States, wherever they may be located. Suppose, for instance, a young man gets a letter from his mother and hears that she is having great difficulty in getting coal; or that she does not know how to go about it to fix up the papers that may be necessary in relation to his insurance, or that there is something that she must do in connection with getting the proper amount of the boy's pay, and she is in terrible difficulties, and that the little brother is also ill,—that young man cannot be a good soldier, and cannot well go on with training while those things are on his mind and he is worrying about his mother and sister and all the troubles he has left behind that he used to take care of at home. But everywhere in the camps are placards posted up by the Red Cross which tell the boys that if there is anything bothering their minds in the slightest about the family at home, just to go right straight to the Red Cross house and see the director of the home service department and

he will help them out. The moment he goes to the house of the director, the latter sends a telegram direct, not through any red tape of the organization which we have to have to establish this system, but as direct as he can to the home service committee in the chapter which has jurisdiction in the territory where that boy's family resides, and tells them what this young fellow desires. They investigate the case, find out the facts, and send back a telegram within twenty-four hours telling exactly what that boy wants to know. He is happy in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred!

Now we have one of these home service men assigned to every division of the American army. This work meets with the most hearty approval, you can readily imagine, of the War Department and of the government officials. Our men will start in with each division of the regular army and will come to know these boys, will have a record of all cases where home affairs may possibly be troublesome, and that same man goes right along with them on the steamer, goes to France and stays with the same division as long as the war lasts. His place is taken by a new man in the place where the division was.

Now the next work that will be interesting to you is the work in and around the hospital zone, in each camp and cantonment. There is a base hospital, and in connection with each of these we are constructing,—we have let the contracts for some thirty of them, and some are now in operation,—we are constructing convalescent houses there, a building the shape of the Red Cross in construction, very attractive buildings. They are connected with the hospital by an enclosed ambulatory. We have a large assembly room and some parlors and a stage, moving pictures, places for lecturers and any of the Y. M. C. A. or Knights of Columbus entertainers who may be in the field on those nights and are good enough to loan themselves to us. These houses are so constructed that the patients, just as soon as they can be wheeled around, can be pushed out from the surroundings of the hospital and get into this nice, attractive, big room and enjoy every possible comfort devised for them until they get well. These houses are going to be run by the management of the hospital or the Surgeon General's department, and they will be assisted by various Red Cross workers in and around the locality in connection with the chapter.

Now, another feature of the hospital work which is very important, and we have taken it by direction of the Surgeon General's office, is the matter of communications home,—home communications. We will have a corps of people in each one of these hospitals whose duty it will be,—for which they are held

responsible by the Red Cross and also by the Surgeon General's office through the Red Cross,—to write home to the families of every single patient that comes into these hospitals. The day a new patient comes into a camp hospital a letter will be written home to the father or mother stating he has entered the hospital on such and such a date and such and such is the matter with him, and each day they will write a letter home and tell the family how the man progresses; and finally when he gets well and leaves the hospital they write a letter and say he was discharged on such and such a day.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, you can imagine what a responsibility that we who are interested in the management of the Red Cross have had placed upon us in that work, and you can see what a satisfaction it would be to you to get those communications from the Red Cross and feel that some one was giving you the real interesting facts in regard to the illness of your boy.

This, in a general way, is about what we are doing in the American hospitals. We are constructing in some cases houses of different character for this purpose or that, but that is the general program.

We have in addition little rest houses that we are building for the nurses to make them comfortable, because no such place is provided for them.

The home service department is perhaps the best organized we have, but the one which has been less noticed by the public because there has been very little home service work to be done up to the present time. We have been laying foundations for the great work which must of necessity be done hereafter. Every single square inch of the United States is organized. There are thirty-six thousand chapters, branches and auxiliaries throughout the United States. There is no part of the United States which is not covered by a chapter which has a definite allotted territory assigned to it. Almost all of these chapters have home service committees. These home service committees are prepared and instructed to do work in and around the homes of these soldiers in the very best possible manner, according to a regulated program laid down by our director general of civilian relief, who is a very fine man in his line. That work has to do, as I said, with the families, and I explained how it works in the camps. Now, that same thing we carry on in Europe, and with every division of the American army in Europe, and this will continue until the war is over. We have a representative of the home service section who is there at all times to give the same assurance to the boys from home by cable communication

as these boys do in the camps. Now the work of these home service people is very much improved by their having a proper knowledge of the best possible way to handle these various situations. Many, many times it is not a matter of money at all. It is very interesting to see how much more one community spends than another just because one knows so much more about how this service should be administered. It is much more valuable to take a mother to the moving pictures than to give her twenty-five dollars, and so there are so many schemes and ways that they must learn to administer this home relief that we have found it advantageous to have institutes for home relief. So in twenty-seven institutions of learning of the United States we run a regular course in home service work. The different ones go and study the most approved methods of rendering this service to the families throughout the country. These home service institutes have been crowded with the chairman of home relief sections throughout the United States. So that ground, it seems to us, is extremely well covered.

Now, the work abroad in France is something beyond any possible comprehension unless you could go there actually to see it. We now have three thousand employees in that organization. This week a steamer sailed, and we have fifty who could not go on it. It is an enormous work. That end of the work is entirely new. As you have probably heard speakers from abroad tell you, it is very largely confined to doing everything that we can to make everybody feel that they want to fight, and that the only thing to do is to fight. And that America is in the war, as Mr. Davidson said once, "Red Cross end first"; and that we are there to help them all we can and to relieve the minds of the men as to their families, etc., until our troops can be trained and come in to help out the French and English on that battlefront. It is just as much a part, General Pershing says, of the whole war program as any other part of the whole thing that we are now engaged in.

One of the two things that has interested me most is the work we are doing at the homes in France. As you know, when the Germans crushed on through Belgium and northern France and pushed back the French and English, the only people left behind the lines were the old and infirm and the babies that could not possibly go along with the rest of them. Now, after these soldiers and civilians that could be pushed were pushed back, these poor people that were left there were used by the Germans just as much as they could possibly use them. They wrung them dry just the same as you would take a wash cloth and wring it until you could not get any more water out of it. Then when

absolutely no good to anybody in the world, they started sending them back into northern France, landing them at Amiens at the rate of a thousand a day, two trains of five hundred each came back there every single day, and every single one of those people were either diseased with tuberculosis or with some other terrible disease, or else they were crippled beyond any possible use, or else they were babies or children up to six or seven years of age. Now, those people had been taken from their own homes because their homes were all ruined and sent to an entirely new country. There was nothing in the world to do with them. The French Government was confronted with a terrible situation. Some five hundred thousand were sent back, and the French started to put them around in different families. They would assign an old man to a family whose husband was at the front, etc., and put them out as a government arrangement in these different families. Well, you can just imagine the effect on a soldier when he comes back on a furlough from the front. He does not come very often to his home, which has probably been all torn to pieces anyway, and his family is probably living in the cellar. He finds this old man or woman there with tuberculosis, taking food out of the children's mouths, who have not enough. When that man goes back to the front, he is a very, very unhappy man. His morale is broken, and if you know the French, you know they are either way up or else they are way down. Now, the Red Cross saw that situation and at the request of and in conjunction with the French Government they undertook to help it out. So they have constructed dispensaries in one part of France where there were devastated villages. And now we meet these people at Amiens; the Red Cross have a crowd there to meet them and take the old men and women and diseased and segregate them in these dispensaries. They use every means possible to find the relatives of those who have no place to go. The result is that a large percentage of them are taken care of in that way. That makes them happy and prevents the spread of disease otherwise inevitable.

Then the little children are taken to children's hospitals. They are all in terrible conditions; they have not been washed. They take those children and get them straight on the right road, and get them places where they belong. And the next time this soldier comes back from the trenches, he comes to his home and is told that the American Red Cross has taken the old gentleman and fixed him up somewhere. He goes back to the trenches and says, "We are going to win this war yet!" To me this is the most impressive of any of our foreign work. I saw some moving pictures of this work the other day. The tears rolled down

my cheeks when I looked at them. It is the most wonderful work that can be imagined.

I want to give just a fleeting picture of just one other item, the canteen work. When these soldiers come back from the front, they go to railroad stations, large numbers of them, and there is no train. They may stay twelve or twenty-four hours or longer, and there is no place to sleep except in the park. They are dirty, and they have nothing to do. The morale is very, very low. We realized this, and we have built at these junction points at the railroads numerous canteens. One canteen—it is a building much larger than this hotel—we have had painted in bright, glorious red, white and blue, and other colors, painted largely by German prisoners! One fellow, who was an expert at making plaster of paris baskets of flowers, helped decorate the place. So we have a beautiful frieze around it, with flowers and fruit, etc., one of the most attractive places you ever saw. We have in this building a large corps of workers. A soldier gets off at that railroad station; is met by these people and taken in there and given a bath, if he wants it, not forced to, but given an opportunity to take a bath; and his clothes are sterilized and all of the vermin are killed. Then his underclothes are either washed and mended, or he is given a new suit of underclothes. He is shaved, and his beard trimmed, and he gets a haircut. His shoes are mended or he is given a new pair, and all along the sides are beds, and he can sleep as long as he wants to in his clean linen. And when he gets up he feels much better than when he came out of the trenches. Nobody likes to have his whiskers trimmed up so much as a Frenchman, and when he goes home he is a respectable human being,—all done by the Red Cross. Thirty thousand a day are thus treated. We are extending the service as much as possible and sending over strong American women to take care of those fellows when they come to these canteens, and the thanks they give these women is really pitiful. They come to them and tell them how sorry they are that they have to work so late at night. "How long must you work, all night?" They do not think it quite right.

I use those two points to show what an immense thing it is to keep the morale of the French at the highest pitch. They feel that America is really there. The spirit of the work that the Red Cross is doing abroad in France, Belgium, England and all over the world can't possibly be better illustrated than by a little story that Major Murphy told me when he was over here a short time ago. He said that one day he was going through a hospital in Belgium with the Queen of the Belgians, and they saw a little boy there on a bed who was blind. It seems that when the Ger-

mans came through the town where this little boy lived, they blew everything up; they blew all the buildings up and made absolute devastation, and this little boy, and everybody that could, fled and hid in cellars, etc. This little boy got separated from the crowd and hid in a cellar, and he peeped out through a cellar window and saw the Germans going along in different places and digging holes and burying little metal boxes. He thought it was some sort of treasure they were burying, and that the Germans were coming back to dig them up later. So after the Germans had gone through the town and ruined everything and had left the town, the people began to go out. This little Belgian boy was one of them, and he told them about this box of treasure that he saw these Germans burying not far away. They went over with the little boy and he dug down for the little box. But it was not a box of treasure, but a box of explosives, and it exploded in his face and blinded him. He did not know what had happened to him, and at the time I speak of—this little fellow sat there wondering why his eyes were bandaged and begging the attendants frequently to take these bandages off his eyes so he could see; but they had taken them off many times and the little fellow had not been able to see. He sat there in his chair, and when he heard any one coming up the corridor his face would brighten up and he would hold out both hands so people could touch him as they passed by. It seems that all that little fellow wanted was to hold out his hands so people could touch him and let him know that some friendly hand was near. Major Murphy and the Queen came along, and the little fellow, as usual, stretched forth his hands while his face lighted up with joy at the prospect of finding new friends; and Major Murphy took hold of the little fellow's hands with a tender pressure. That's all the little boy wanted, just to feel the touch of human hands. Now, it seems to me that is exactly what we are doing in this Red Cross work abroad. We are just touching their hands to assure them that we are present to help them. It is not money they want. We will, of course, give them all they need, but more than that we must touch their hands, and assure them of our sincere desire to be their friends. Now, we are not doing that as charity; that's the farthest from what the Red Cross stands for. We are not doing it because we want to make some return for Lafayette's coming over here across the ocean during the Revolutionary War and being our friend in the time of need. We are touching those hands just because you and I and all of us are that kind of people. We want to be their friends; we want to help. That's all there is to it, and we ought to thank God that we are that kind of people.

# THE PROVINCE OF THE RED CROSS

By John W. Davis,

*Solicitor General of the United States*

You are about to carry to the American people the story of the Red Cross. I can imagine no more enthralling theme on which any speaker can address an audience. No matter what angle of the subject he may touch, there is material to evoke all the powers of eloquence and oratory that he may possess, whether it be the history of the Red Cross, from its origin in the Crimea on the battlefield of Solferino, its multitudinous activities, which have made it a symbol of benediction throughout the world from that date to this, or whether it be the purposes of the Red Cross, the American Red Cross, in this war to act as the chain of communication between the American people and their brave defenders on land and on sea, to act as a guardian of the fireside for those who have been called from you to their country's service, or as common bond and union with our Allies, speaking to them the message which the American people want to go to them of unity, concord and common purpose; or whether it be the achievements of the Red Cross, wonderful as they have been in these last twelve months, starting with a subscription which exceeds any sum ever raised in all human history for a single charitable and benevolent enterprise, and extending its activities unto the four corners of the globe, over more kinds and varieties of nations than has ever been previously attempted,—no matter which one of those lines you choose to present to an audience, you must and you will receive their heartiest response.

From the soldier? Yes, because the Red Cross gives to the soldier what neither his Quartermaster nor his Ordnance Department, nor his Supply can give. They may furnish him with material aid, with weapons and assistance, but the Red Cross is the mental commissary to preserve the spirit and the hope and the courage of the Army.

And from the statesman, if you choose, because the Red Cross has proven itself already to be the advance guard of diplomacy, sowing in the seeds of foreign peoples those sentiments of friend-

ship and union, the fruits of which it is the province of the diplomat to gather.

And whether it is the priest, shaken perhaps as most of us are by this wonderful and disastrous conflict, doubting almost whether the hand of God can be present in the midst of horrors so extended, and yet realizing that here at least is one agency serving with the noblest of all the gospel tenets and simplifying the text, "Whoso beholdeth his brother in need, and shutteth up the bowels of his compassion from him, how doth the love of God abide in him?"

And the American patriot, eager and anxious, as every American is, to do his share and part, has here an outlet and channel for his activities, something that he can do daily to make him feel that he has borne his part in the great endeavor.

When the message goes to the American people, my friends, it will go to them with the declaration of hope that lies behind it, the only purpose that any freeman can entertain at this hour, of set and deliberate purpose to win this war, cost what it may.

Sometimes I think it would be a good thing for our spirits and our morale if we had more of the belief of predestination ground into our systems than we have. They tell the story of a Scotch corporal raised in the land of kilts and predestination, where they take death somewhat more seriously than we do, and he had become a proverb and a by-word in his company because of his fixed conviction that he could not be hurt, wounded or killed until his day had come, and when the order came to go "over the top" he strapped on his revolver. Some of the men asked, "What do you want with a revolver if you are not going to die until your day has come?" "Well," he said, "I thought I might meet a German whose day has come!"

Now we want that sort of predestination, and that sort of belief in the inevitable. Gladstone once said that faint-heartedness was the master vice, and in my judgment, my friends, the only thing which can by any possibility lose the Allied cause is that vice and no other. In men, munitions and in right the Allies are superior, and if there be, as all men believe there be, a God of justice, the cause of right must and will triumph.

# THE RED CROSS IN FRANCE

By Mrs. J. Borden Harriman,

*Speaker for the American Red Cross*

From the very minute that one lands in that wonderful country, England, as I did in the middle of last November, one comes face to face with the Red Cross, and one marches shoulder to shoulder with it through the different war zones, and up to the time one takes the steamer to return to America.

In England the American Red Cross is coöperating and doing splendid work now with the British Red Cross, helping out in every way that it can, supplementing the work of the British Red Cross in the British hospitals. It is such a privilege thus to be able in any way to help these people of Great Britain. I do not think any of us here realize until we go there and see it face to face, what they have stood, what the stress has been in that little island, how those men and women are consecrating themselves to the effort to win this war, how the capital letter "E" for *Endurance* is written over the head of every man, woman and child in that island.

Every one there is organized for war. Every woman that I know, from the highest to the lowest, is doing her bit in some form or other. She is doing it in the hospitals. The two daughters of an archbishop were behind the British lines. One was a cook, and the other was scrubbing floors. They were members of the volunteer aid department. Women who have never done anything,—as one woman said to me,—but play tennis and golf and enjoy themselves, are now doing something.

A Scotch girl had run away from home because her parents did not want her to go out into the world and do what she felt was her part and share in this great cataclysm. She had run away from home and had entered one of the biggest factories, where twenty-five thousand women were employed. She worked at a machine, and in a short time showed such ability that she became assistant manager of that great factory. Now the Ministry of Munitions has sent her to another government factory where there are twelve thousand women, and she is the women's superintendent, and has charge of all the women's work, of

women making six-inch shells and eight-inch shells, and to-day are helping to make the Howitzer guns. That woman is twenty-eight years old. She is only one of thousands that are doing the same kind of thing.

And little twelve to fourteen-year-old girls in their brown smocks are government messengers. You see them everywhere in Westminster running from one government building to the other with their little dispatch cases.

I stood in a large factory up on the border of Scotland where two years and a half ago there was nothing but a great field. To-day there is a city ten miles square, and it is where most of the gun cotton is made for the Ministry of Munitions. While I stood there with the welfare supervisor, three women in a short time came in showing signs of emotion, one of them with the tears pouring down her cheeks, and they asked for two days off and whispered to the supervisor that a husband, or a son, or some one belonging to them had "gone West" as they say when one has been killed. They were given two days off, and the supervisor said, "There is a constant stream of these all the time; those women will be back in two days, and we will never hear anything more about it; they will not bid for sympathy."

And that same great spirit is shared by the British Tommies. The British Tommy to-day is full of humor. The first night I arrived in London I had to go to sign my name, as aliens all have to do these days. I came out into that town so dark that without a flashlight one could not see to step up on the pavement. I felt instinctively a kind of depression and a wistful feeling for the streets of New York. I got onto an omnibus, and I had not been in the bus two minutes before I felt ashamed of myself. There were two British Tommies with their blue uniforms and scarlet ties, which is the uniform that the Tommy wears when wounded. There were two Tommies, and between them they had two legs, and they were cracking jokes with everybody so as to amuse the other passengers. The feeling we had was that they realized this depressing atmosphere, and their spirits were so wonderful that they wanted to lift everybody else to their level. The whole way uptown they never stopped their jokes. They asked me how long I had been there, and if I was an American. "Do you know much about the war? Do you know I got four Boches on my bayonet the last time, but one of them wiggled off?" I could give you endless stories of the way that they amused their audience.

Then one crosses the channel and goes up to the British front, and there sees the work of the British Red Cross in the hospitals—the kind of work that is being started in our hospitals now, and

which they will follow very closely in our own Red Cross hospitals. After the work had been going on a year or more, the surgeons found that the environment kept the British wounded longing too much for "Blighty," which is England. Our men call it that now. It is a Hindu word for "home." Cheerful surroundings kept them from longing for "Blighty"—chintz coverings and curtains.

I know there are lots of old army men brought up in the strict discipline of the army who feel that it is perhaps pampering the soldier to give him a red blanket instead of a brown one, but the doctors found out a long time ago that tuberculosis patients, if they were happy in their minds, and were in cheerful surroundings, were sixty per cent. cured. It was thus with the British in the hospitals, and I must say that to go into one of these wards with the walls painted a lively sea green, with bright flowers, and pretty curtains, and cheerful colored blankets, was very helpful. It seemed to take away from the horror of the scene.

One of our own hospitals had just been started at the British front and had not yet been able to receive donations of that kind from our Red Cross. It was a great contrast, and the doctor who took me in to see it apologized. It was at Rouen, where there are a great many British hospitals, and this doctor of ours, one of our best surgeons, said, "It does not look so nice, but we are hoping soon that the Red Cross will send us the things we have asked for. We want to look as nice as our neighbors."

In one of these wards was one of the engineers from Cambrai, the men who were caught with their shovels instead of guns. One Irishman was sitting up in bed. He had been so badly wounded, shot through the spleen, that they had doubt at one time that they could pull him through. He was getting better very fast. I often watched him. He was hoping to get better in order to get back to the front. He could talk of nothing else. He talked of how fast he ran, and concluded,—"And when I saw the Germans coming over the hill the distance I used to make in fifty-three minutes I made in eighteen."

He fell in with a Scotch lad with the Germans pursuing them. He finally was shot down, and was taken back to the hospital. He would look at the man next to him, "He has no legs. He never will get back. But I will. That is why I didn't shuffle off. I want to get back at the Huns for what they did to me!"

One day I went into Cambrai, into a station, not a dressing station, but a clearing station. They do not allow women to go any higher than that. Have you ever seen any one injured by liquid fire? If so you can stand awful sights. I think I can. They backed me into this room, and there I saw a British

Tommy. His condition was indescribable almost. He had been burned with liquid fire. Where he had had hair he had nothing but blisters. He was propped up for his turn to go on the operating table. The only thing whole about him was one eye. For a minute I did not know what to say. "My poor man, you are in hard luck." "No, madam, I am in good luck. I saved one eye!"

And that is the spirit of the men over there, the men whom today we are reënforcing; that I feel perfectly certain, and every one who has seen our men on the highways of France has also felt perfectly certain, is going to be the spirit of our men.

General Pershing told me, after the first time or the second time the men went over the top, "I had the highest expectations for our men, but they have gone beyond them." And he added, "A French general said to me, 'General, there is only one word that describes your men, and that is "fierce!"'"

There is only one thing in this war from a military standpoint, and that is, kill Germans. It seems a horrible thing, but that is all there is to it. Our men have seen some of these things that I have seen. They have seen what those people have suffered. Unless you have been there and have seen it yourself, it is almost impossible to visualize it. They can't get into it quickly enough. They want to get in, those young men, full of life, full of good blood, and untired, those men that are in a position to do what that little army of Great Britain did that made that retreat from Amiens under the most horrible and heart-rending conditions, going out with a thousand or eleven hundred in a regiment and coming back one hundred or one hundred fifty strong. And when they came to a village, their commander, wearing a peasant's hat and patches wrapped around his legs for boots, would turn around to his men and say, "Men, this is a French village. Pull yourselves together!" And then they would march through as if they were on parade! And those are the men that we have gone to reënforce.

And the French *poilus!* We all love the French. We all have heard so much about the French. The French appeal to our artistic sense. They are so gay, they are so bright, we feel that we understand the French, and the French understand us; they have been just as brave in their way as the British. Only, I think we all knew more of what the French were doing than we did know of the British.

I shall never forget an early morning when I was taken to the French front. I was three-quarters of a mile behind the line in a beautiful old château. It was the most beautiful architecture in France. It is gone now. There are only a few pillars left. We were there and could see the French line and the German

trenches, and the French officer who was with us said, "Look quickly," and a battery of seventy-five guns, all camouflaged, came out and passed the château as another one came to go in to take their places, field artillery, and I shall always remember my complete astonishment at the perfect condition of the returning soldiers. The horses were well groomed and well fed, the men looked well nourished and most beautifully dressed—their uniforms were in perfect condition—and in front of every two guns, which had four horses to drag them, rode a French officer on a splendid high-stepping horse, with docked tail, and the whole picture was one of a triumphant regiment going out to maneuver, not that they had just come out of the line where they had been under fire for days and days. The French believe in sending their men into the trenches with good clothes. The British do just the opposite. They keep their good clothes for going to town. I think that we are going to do as the French. The idea is that it makes a good impression on the Germans if the prisoners are not down at the heel.

I think that we have thought of the Red Cross as supplementing the work of the army, but in France it is doing something which is an innovation, in a way, in a foreign country, and has been of tremendous effect, and that is taking care of the civilian population. As I went to France I thought, "What best describes this work of the Red Cross?" And there kept coming to my mind "the shadow of a rock in a weary land." And that is what the Red Cross stands for in France to-day, what it has meant to the men of France who are at the front waiting for our men. Our men who were welcomed with such joy last June, and who were called, they supposed, "Sammies," but who were being called "Nos amis," our friends; and our men were not quite sure they liked it. It was the best thing the French could say. They were waiting for those men to come and back them up.

Back of the lines friends of the French soldiers are helping to take care of their wives and their children. Nowhere is that more beautifully illustrated than at Avions, on the shores of Lake Geneva. I went there the very last day that the refugees from the northern provinces of France came in. That was the first part of March. Germany was preparing for her great offensive, and she didn't want to send any trains, did not dare to use any to move any of the civilian population from Belgium, because she needed all her trains for moving troops. Avions is a most beautiful place, which lies on Lake Geneva, surrounded by snow-clad mountains, where everything is smiling. At six o'clock in the morning there came into the station, as it happened every morning at six o'clock for thirteen months, and again every afternoon

for thirteen months, a train of 660 refugees from the northern provinces of France,—all kinds of people. We are going to have it all over now, because so many had gone back to those towns, Noyon, Channy and other towns the Germans had passed through, which they had laid waste, where they had cut down every tree. One of these returned refugees said to me, "O, madam, I do not like to see it; my family doesn't like to see it; but they tell us it is all right. Those Germans did not cut everything down for spite alone. They destroyed those houses and those trees because they meant to come back, and they didn't want anything left for the retreating army." Those people have come back and are being taken care of by our Red Cross in this little town of Avions. Twice a day 660 people are brought in, old men, women and little children, with tickets around the neck, giving the name So-and-so, trying to find some friends, little stray children whose fathers and mothers had been taken prisoner or had been sent on in a different train. I think the most pathetic thing of all was the people of the town trying to make these people feel at home. They had hired a brass band which would play familiar airs twice a day, and as the train drew up you heard the strains of the Marseillaise and shouts of "Vive la France," as the old men, women and children hung out of the windows. It was the first time they had seen France since 1914. The Germans found that they did not want them; they were too old. The young and strong ones, and the young women, were kept because they were able to be of use to the Germans.

Those people come into Avions twice a day and they have soup and bread, and the band plays twice a day and has done so for thirteen months, and the mayor of the town has made the same speech. One day he was making his speech with the tears pouring down the cheeks of old and young, and they played the Marseillaise; they all stood up, when the Mayor said, "We have with us a member of the American Red Cross, and you know what the American Red Cross means to us, so we will have the Star Spangled Banner," and they played the Star Spangled Banner. And when all that was over we went into a room, and saw there hundreds of girls working many hours a day and pretty nearly all night distributing letters to these refugees, taking their histories, looking up any of their friends of the last thirteen months that had passed through that clearing house at Avions, and trying to bring them together again.

We have some of the best baby specialists from this country in France running baby hospitals, passing on the health of those children, and deciding where they should go. It is only a clearing house there, and they are passed on to the committee at

Lyons. It is the committee from Lyons that runs all this beautiful work at Avions. It was started by a young woman of wealth in Lyons, whose sister and five little children were among the refugees or repatriates. She saw the dreadful plight of the people coming in every day and asking for help, and she started this great work.

In Lyons itself—where many of these people are sent to the tuberculosis hospital if they have tuberculosis, and the babies to the baby hospitals—in Lyons the American Red Cross has established the only tuberculosis hospital. It is in charge of one of our specialists. Everything is done as well as in any place I have ever seen in this country. It has six thousand women, repatriated women, and they are being taught to live. They do not like to sleep with their windows open. They eat their meals in bed. I saw them with their windows open, and our nurses are taking care of them, and what is better than anything else, they are educating those people to go home and teach other people how not to spread tuberculosis.

The Red Cross has started near Paris, in conjunction with the Rockefeller Institute, a little village where houses are built where tuberculosis patients and their families may all live together, which as you know means so much to the French people. Because the French woman's home is her world, and she frets so that it is perhaps not altogether best to keep a French woman away from home surroundings, in a hospital, and they are making their quarters under the same roof, but separate for the patient and the family. This is an experiment near Paris, but they hope to duplicate it in numerous parts of France.

One comes back with the feeling that there is nothing large enough to make it impossible for us all to coöperate, all to stand shoulder to shoulder, all organizations, all individuals, and without letting the personal element intrude, to stand behind those men who have gone over there to fight our battle for us, as the French and British have been fighting our battle since 1914.

And I assure you that when one sees the suffering on all sides, one almost feels that it hurts not to suffer a little bit ourselves.

The day I left France I took the steamer at Havre and came across to Southampton, and the boat that started two hours ahead of us across the channel, that is supposed to be the part freest from submarines, was struck. Two hours out we heard, "The captain wants every one to put on life preservers and come out into the hall." There was a great commotion on deck, and everybody was lined up in the halls, and as soon as I could possibly do so I managed to go forward and get on the deck and see what

was going on. It was dark, no light except from flashlights. Two destroyers were alongside of our little channel boat, and the motion of the channel was making it rock, and across that plank in a steady stream men were passing carrying other men on their backs.

It was so dark I could not see who the other men were, or what was going on any further than that. Another destroyer kept circling around, and at last it stopped and the commander called through the megaphone, "It is not safe for you to wait here any longer. Go full speed ahead and we will take the rest ourselves," and we went full speed ahead and arrived four hours late in the morning.

Inside the boat there were two hundred very badly wounded men. We were glad to give up our staterooms. There were three men put into my stateroom. One man had no legs, another had pneumonia, and the other had appendicitis. Many of those two hundred men had come from Italy. They had been wounded there and had been sent back to France where they have better hospitals. But those men, in that desperate condition, very, very ill, were being sent over to "Blighty" because the hospitals had to be vacated to make room for the wounded men whom they knew might be coming at any moment.

I went around among those men on that boat, and no one could get a word out of any of them except, "Oh, it's nothing," or, "It's lucky that none of us were lost." One would ask another, "How are you, old top?" "Top hole!" In the old days when they had a good dinner they had to let the belts out to the top hole, and that has come to mean that one could not feel better.

I think as long as I live I shall carry that scene with me of these men who had been wounded for their country, who had moved out of the hospitals for men who perhaps would be more seriously wounded and were on their way home and had expected to make that trip comfortably, but with perfect calmness had taken the sinking of their ship by a submarine, and had never uttered one complaint.

## THE FOURTEENTH DIVISION AND A STORY

By Dr. F. M. Chapman,

*Of the American Red Cross*

I take advantage of this occasion to introduce to you the fourteenth division of the Red Cross, without some knowledge of which we believe your acquaintance with the Red Cross work would not be wholly complete. The Fourteenth Territorial Division of the Red Cross was formed in answer to the insistent demand from the four corners of the earth for recognition of Americans living from one end of the world to the other, and with the formation of this division and the sound of the Red Cross call to colors ringing round the world, responses came from Alaska to Argentina, from the West Indies to the East Indies, wherever there is an embassy or a legation, or a consular office, or an American counting house, or ranch or mine. The appeal was sent to those exiled from their country at war, and the response has been so thrilling in many ways, and in material ways. Large sums of money have been sent, and supplies in such quantities that the Fourteenth Division has been confronted by an apparently insolvable problem in finding storage space.

To solve this problem, Mr. Cutler, the manager of the Division, has been in New York hunting for a place in which we might store these supplies which have come to us from the four corners of the world. Turned from door to door, unwillingly, because there was no space to be had, he finally in despair went to a friend in the dry goods firm of Lord & Taylor. This organization had a band of patriotic working men and women already formed, and consequently they were fully prepared to meet our requisitions for assistance, and at once responded to Mr. Cutler, "We will give you space. We will give the Fourteenth Division all the storage space that it may require, without charge. And we will supply free truck service to and from the warehouse and the shipping points." And when the meeting of the employees' organization was called, the executives of the various departments volunteered, on their own time, to supervise our work, and the employees themselves at this meeting took up a contribution

and raised over one thousand dollars with which to employ an expert packer for one year to superintend and oversee our work continuously. At this meeting one Mrs. Brandow, head of a department, made a short address, which is so interesting, so remarkable, that I have been asked to read it to you here.

She made no set attempt to appeal to the emotions of her hearers. She was compelled to speak by what she had to say. Fortunately she could adequately express herself, and she spoke so simply, so sincerely, so eloquently, that what she said seems to us to be a priceless human document; and here it is:

"At one of the preliminary meetings of which Mr. Reyburn has spoken to you I asked permission to speak. I wanted to speak for myself and for those associated with me in my department.

"So many of you have spoken to me since the meeting that was held Wednesday night that I feel to-night, confidently, that I can speak not only for my department but for all of Lord & Taylor.

"And so, Mr. Reyburn, I am not speaking to my fellow workers; I am speaking for them to you. On Wednesday night I asked if I might be given the privilege of rededicating my services and the services of my whole department to my country. To-night, I ask that I may be given the privilege of rededicating to the service of our country all of the Lord & Taylor employees.

"You know for a while I was very much troubled. When Margaret Lytton was called to serve in France, and Christine Mann was called to serve in Washington, and then Adelaide Richardson was called to serve, traveling around the country, visiting munition factories—all three women from my department, I felt at first that I had been overlooked. Then I began to feel there was nothing I could give to my country, nothing that my country wanted to use, and I was troubled. But now I see clearly, and I know that just as surely as Margaret Lytton was called to serve by tending to the wounded and dying in France, that just as surely as Dr. Mann was called to serve in Washington, and that just as surely as Miss Richardson was called to serve by visiting munition factories, just as surely am I, Belle Brandow, called to serve here in this building. And I answer that call just as they did, and I dedicate from this night on, all that I have to give to the service of my country, and I interpret that call to mean that I am to give every day, every working day, six days out of every week, confidently, cheerfully; that I am to do whatever task that day may bring to my hand, to the glory of my country.

"I had a brother, an only brother—my little brother. He was

bigger than I am physically, and very much bigger than I am mentally, for he was a surgeon. He heard the call of his country last year, and he went forth gladly, eagerly, and, oh, so gayly. On the 27th of June he made the supreme sacrifice. They buried him in his captain's uniform, but his cap lies on the top of the book shelves in my father's library, and when I would see my father I must go there, for he will sit in no other place, and that cap is a constant challenge to me. I have not brought myself to the place where I can touch it, because once it rested on his bonny head; but every time I look at it, it says to me, 'I died for this principle; Sister, live for it!' And I am resolved that I shall live for it day by day in this building, so that when I have earned the rest which he now enjoys, I shall know by the glance in his bonny brown 'e that he welcomes me, because I, too, have done my share in order that this government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from this earth.

"Do you know these words written by Lieutenant Colonel Doctor John McCrea? To me they are one of the livest things that have come out of this war:

In Flanders fields the poppies grow
  Between the crosses row by row
That mark our place;
  And in the sky, the larks
Still bravely singing fly,
  Scarce heard among the guns below.
We are the dead; short days ago
  We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved;
  And now we lie in Flanders fields.
Take up your quarrel with the foe,
  To you from falling hands we throw
The torch. Be yours to bear it high!
  If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
  In Flanders fields.

"Mr. Reyburn, I say to you for every last, loyal Lord & Taylor employee that we will not break faith with those who die, that we resolve that we will answer this call for service, at the sales counter, at the packing desk, in the cashier's cage, in the office,—every last office, and in every corner of every floor of this building, we will keep faith with those who die. We hear your call, your ringing call, to higher, nobler effort, and we answer, 'Here, sir!'"

# GERMANY'S PREPARATIONS FOR THE NEXT WAR

By J. B. W. Gardiner,

*Military Expert of the New York Times*

It may seem strange that at this time, when the world is in the midst of this great struggle which is tearing civilization to pieces and decimating the white race, I should take up your time in a discussion of a war of the future. My only reason for so doing is that this future war is a necessary corollary of the present war, unless we destroy its germs before they have time to develop and fructify. It is stranger yet, that in view of the sorrow and the intense suffering which the present war has caused, not only among the Allies but in Germany as well, that there are leaders of men so callous, so Satanic, as to even dream of launching upon the world another such devastating, cataclysmic horror, but nevertheless this is the case; the evidence is conclusive, and it is this evidence which I want to present to you so that we may all have a clear conception of the true menace which threatens us. The correct interpretation of this evidence and its proper application, however, rests entirely on a clear conception of German aims and ambitions, so that I must first ask your indulgence while I turn from my subject for sufficient time to explain these aims and to present the proof of my contentions.

The President of the United States, in an address some time ago in Buffalo, referred to the German aims to construct a Berlin-Bagdad railroad and to control the route through which this railroad passes. Similar references have been current for the past three years. But if this were all, we are not primarily concerned, since German ambitions to expand eastward would not affect us, our territorial integrity, our sovereignty or our form of government. The President's statement is absolutely true; of it there is not the slightest doubt, but it did not go far enough. The doctrine of the Berlin-Bagdad route was the Pan-German ambition of 1895. It is not the ambition of later years; not the ambition of 1912 which led Bernhardi, the disciple of the apostle of force, Neitzsche, to plead for world power. This latter ambition extended to the West as well as to the East; it extended to the coast of France and of Belgium as well as to the shores of

the Persian Gulf. There is a great wealth of evidence bearing on this point but time limitations do not permit it to be laid before you in full. I would discuss for the moment in this connection only the bibliography of Pan-Germania, in order that you may see the line which German thought of recent years has followed.

Writing in 1905, Joseph Reiner has this to say with reference to all of Germany's smaller neighbors: "Such false ideas of internationalities, peace and race, are prevalent, that it is often maintained that no breaking up of nations would be necessary but that a Germanization in the mass of the nations in question (Germany's smaller neighbors) would be sufficient." And the same writer later on in his book entitled "Pan-German Germany," from which the above extract was taken, makes this definite proposal, which, be it noted, strikes westward of Holland. "We desire and must desire a world empire under the hegemony of the German people. In order to secure this we must gradually Germanize the Scandinavian and Dutch Teutonic States, denationalizing them in the weaker significance of the term; break up the predominantly un-Teutonic peoples into their component parts, in order to take to ourselves the Teutonic element and Germanize it, while we reject the un-Teutonic element." We find further corroboration of this idea in a secret memorandum sent by Chancellor Michaelis to Austria in 1915, which memorandum a German Socialist deputy obtained and read in the German Reichstag. This memorandum contains the following passages: "The motive of all of Germany's acts is the lack of territory, both for the development of commerce and colonization. Germany has to solve two problems: the freedom of the seas and the opening of a route to the Southeast. These two problems can only be solved through the destruction of England. Our object is the permanent securing of the German Empire in central Europe and the extension of its territory. No one who understands the significance of this war can doubt that in spite of our wish to be moderate, we shall not allow ourselves from extending the borders of the Empire and from; under all circumstances, annexing such territories as are fitted for colonizations and are not subject to the influence of the sea power. We can weaken Russia materially by taking away her border territory—the Baltic provinces. By skillful policies the Baltic provinces can easily be Germanized. They will be settled with Germans and their population will double itself. That is the reason why they must be annexed.

"In the Vosges, the boundary line must be improved by the annexation of some valleys, so that the German frontier troops

can no longer be fired upon from French territory. France will lose Briey and a strip of land west of Luxembourg. The value of Briey, in an economic and military sense, is evident from the fact that 16 million tons of iron ore are produced there. For the safeguarding of the German and Luxembourg iron industries Belgium must remain in our hands."

In 1911, to come nearer down to the present day, Maximilian Hardman emphasized the German intention to spread towards the Atlantic: "Since the Western Powers restrict our rights to life, it is necessary that we should attach one of them to us or that we should beat them out of our way by force."

Finally we come to the German plan in the present war, and the considerations which led them to strike in the West rather than in the East. From a purely military consideration, Germany's logical move in 1914 was to strike Russia first with her full force, eliminate Russia from the conflict and when Russia had been disposed of and a separate peace enforced, to turn her strength against the more powerful of her opponents—France and England. Germany could have placed a strong guard at the passes of the Vosges Mountains to guard the gap at Belfort, Epinal and Toul, acted entirely on the defensive, while her full strength was exerted against Russia. As was later proven at the Battle of the Dunajec, Russia would have collapsed under the pressure. Germany knew the situation in Russia before she declared war. She knew Russia was slow, ponderous, and that it would take her a long time really to get in action. She knew on the contrary that France was already mobilized, and that, because of the existing Entente between France and England, that an attack on France would draw England into the war. German diplomats could not have been so stupid as to ignore completely this possibility. Had Germany elected to fight in the West against her strongest opponents and to leave Russia to Austria to take care of, if she did strike West then it was because of the desire to establish herself west of her old boundaries, and at least envelop the mineral supply of France.

From past experience, we are justified in the conclusion that once Germany had her hand on this source of power and wealth she would cling to it as long as her power remained. But German aims in the West are still unachieved. She still falls far short of her ambition. She has not yet reached the sea. Moreover, in spite of recent events in France, not only is she unable to go further, but that which she has will certainly be taken away and sooner or later she must fall back behind her own frontiers. But if this were permitted to come about through a peace compromise, the result would merely be an armed truce. Ger-

man ambitions for western expansion would merely sleep, to wake later in another and more terrible war. Therefore, I have emphasized the Western situation since, because of its relation to the future, it is most pregnant with danger. But German ambitions, openly expressed, do not limit themselves to the continent of Europe. She has been planning, in a way which is unmistakable, to get her grip on Latin-America, and use it as a ground for future colonization.

She has sent out, under the direction of her foreign office, large settlements in Brazil and Argentine, which are German, which will always be German, and which have not the slightest intention of permitting themselves to become assimilated with the local population. She has honeycombed this country with spies, with secret agents of all kinds, who stop at nothing, not even at murder, so that when the war comes to this continent we shall be utterly impotent. Careful lists have been kept of men here, who have come from Germany, who can be counted upon to work in her interest. The now famous Zimmermann letters, in which Germany proposed to give to Mexico large stretches of our territory in return for coöperative offensive measures against us, is public property still fresh in our minds. We have had threat after threat since the European War broke out, one of which came directly from the Kaiser himself to Ambassador Gerard. But there is more than this; the Foreign Relations Committee in both the House of Representatives and the U. S. Senate were authoritatively appraised of the fact that Germany was keeping a list of all the men in her army who were alleged to be either killed or wounded by American-made ammunition supplied to the Allies. This list was translated into dollars and cents, the value of each man being made to depend upon his rank and station; this was to be the indemnity we were to be made to pay after the war. By January, 1917, it had reached an inconceivable sum—a sum sufficiently large to pay the entire cost to Germany of the war, and we may be certain that the alternative with which we would have been confronted would have been to pay or fight.

I will not burden you longer with references to German ambitions, but there is no question in the mind of any thinking student on this subject that German aims extended not to Hamburg-Bagdad, but to Calais-Bagdad on the European continent and Latin-America on this continent.

In presenting evidence of Germany's preparations for a future war, I will not go into controversial matters but will offer for your consideration only those things which are known to be facts. From official Germany herself, through the medium of prominent German officials, known and recognized as such over the entire

reading world, we have outspoken frank statements as to just how the German mind is working at this moment. I would call your attention particularly to the work of Lieutenant General Baron von Freytag-Loringhoven, Deputy Chief of the German General Staff, who ranks officially as the third soldier in the Empire. This work the German Government attempted, while giving it wide circulation within the Empire, to prevent crossing the borders into neutral countries, but in this attempt they were unsuccessful. Several copies have reached neutral nations, have been translated and reprinted, and his deductions consist in the application of this war's lessons to the next war, and the preparations which Germany must make so that the errors of the present war may not be repeated. I will not go into the quotations from this book, though the entire work is replete with references to the war that Germany proposes to go into at some future date; the book is on the market in America and can be read by any one who wishes to follow the subject of this gentleman further, but lest the position be taken that this is merely the doctrine of an exponent of militarism, we may turn to the line of thought of those in other occupations. In December, 1917, the Association of German Manufacturers of Iron and Steel, and the Association of German Metallurgers, with headquarters at Berlin and Dusseldorf, drew up a memorial which was addressed to the German High Command, demanding that Germany annex the French iron areas centering in Longwy and Briey because of their extreme importance for German national economy and for the conduct of future war. The following quotation is of interest in this connection: "Let no one believe that Germany in peace time will be able to assure herself iron reserves for a future war. We do not have the right to count that in a future war we will have the good fortune a second time to be able to exploit the territories occupied and to increase our resources of first material."

We thus have from the highest military source, and from a civilian source equally high, frequent and emphatic references to what is in the German mind at the moment, and all of this is further corroborated by Chancellor Michaelis' memorandum to Austria. It is all indicative of a frame of mind which for years had been brought up on war and trained to think in terms of war, and all the German mind can see to-day is a peace which will enable the state to wage most effectively the next war in which it is engaged. "Peace," said Nietzsche, in his War and Warriors, "we should love as a means to new wars and the short peace rather than the long."

I have merely stated thus far the general line of German thought; the question that now arises is,—has anything yet been

done to translate this thought into facts? Is there anything in what Germany has actually done since the war began that can reasonably be interpreted as bearing out the idea of preparing for another great war? In this connection, the sequence of events in both Belgium and France since 1914 is an interesting study. The history of Germany's three years' occupation of Belgium discloses three distinct phases. The first phase might be termed the period of atrocities. These atrocities, however, were apparently limited in area to the line of advance of the army. Arson, rape and plunder were the rule in this pathway, but outside of this but little destruction seems to have been carried on at that time.

After the first battle of Ypres, however, when the war had settled down into trenches, German tactics changed. Then the German occupation became an established fact, and the German problem, peace to be primarily military, became essentially one of administration, although an administration solely for German purposes and to serve German ends. The atrocities ceased during this period, which is the second phase, and except for isolated crimes, such as the execution of Edith Cavelle, and the murder of Captain Fryatt, were heard of no longer. On the contrary, Germany set about to re-constitute the Belgium industries which had suspended operations and to restore, insofar as possible, the ante-bellum commercial processes. Germany, at that time, expected to hold Belgium permanently as one of the terms of peace, and, therefore, the German rule was, according to German lights, decent and generally calculated to promote the welfare of the country. This lasted only until the guns of the Allies pounding on the Somme hammered into the German consciousness that they were not to win, and not winning, could not retain Belgium. The German tactics in Belgium immediately changed. Then began the process of complete economic and social destruction. The first evidence of this was found in the Belgium deportation. Germany, when protests from civilized governments began to pour in against this grossest crime of all modern history, wove the usual network of lies in extenuation. Only the idle, she said, were being deported, and these as an economic measure; but Baron Adolphe von Bachoffen, a German official, who visited this territory in the summer of 1916, wrote in his report most enthusiastically of the work of the German civil administrators in reviving industrial and agricultural activity. At the time of his investigation, the agricultural output was not less than at any time before the conquest. Over 70 per cent. of the coal mines were in operation, and the percentage was constantly increasing. All of the iron and steel works, the pottery workers, even the diamond

cutters, all were approaching normal. Therefore, there could have been no great army of unemployed. As a matter of fact, Germany herself created the unemployment by stripping the Belgium factories of all machinery. This is evidenced by a semi-official note which appeared in the *Nord-Deutsch Zeitung* of December 18, 1917: "All measures taken in Belgium are inspired by military necessity. It has become necessary to strip the Belgium factories of their machinery and other fittings, because all German industry is busy filling orders for material of war. Our machinery and other equipment is tremendously overworked, and must, from time to time, be replaced by new machines. The machinery and equipment required for these purposes are brought from Belgium factories. The destruction of whole factories for the production of grape shot is affected in order to maintain at its present level the supply of iron and steel in Germany or, if possible, to raise it. The question of keeping up work in some other factories of the occupied country must be subordinated to consideration tending to spare the lives of German soldiers and thus protect our national power."

There is on this point also a great wealth of evidence, all tending to show how Germany deliberately set about to ruin the economic and social life of Belgium, not only in the deportations but through the absolute destruction of its factories. The net results accomplished in Belgium then are first the impoverishing of the country through outrageous levies of money; second, the economic ruin brought about through stripping all factories of their machinery; third, the social and commercial destruction produced through the deportation of able-bodied male element in the population. Belgium is but a shell; its factories are but walls, its population composed for the most part only of women, children and old men. Its past commercial structure is in ruins. Economic dependence is absolute, and it is the German intention that it remain so.

In France there was the same general policy. In the early days of the German invasion, there was an apparent regard for the laws of war and no organized destruction. Indeed, during the short period during which the Germans occupied Rheims, they paid the French in gold and at a very good price for all of the wine they drank. But this period was short. Once the battle lines became established, occupied France was governed as was Belgium in the second phase of occupation. But again the Battle of the Somme intervened, and Germany learned that she was not to be permitted to hold in the West any of the gains she had acquired. Then came the German retreat. We have all read of her general devastation over the path of the retreating

army—a devastation which caused a wave of horror to pass over the entire civilized world. The popular idea at the time was that all this was but the outcropping of a lust for destruction, and of the same spirit that had manifested itself in Belgium. This might hold true, were these the acts of individuals, but they were not. They were carried out in prosecution of a carefully considered, thoroughly organized plan. To assume that such deeds were done wantonly, without thought, without motive, is to charge Germany with a thoughtlessness and carelessness entirely at variance with our knowledge of her character. The German plan by which nothing was left of the great industrial region of North-Eastern France but the earth and the sky was the same as that which Cæsar wrote of the German tribes in the beginning of the Christian Era. "The tribes deem it an honorable distinction to have their frontiers devastated, to be surrounded with immense deserts. They regard it as the highest proof of valor for their neighbors to abandon their territories out of fear of them, moveover they have thus an additional security against sudden attack." But Germany's idea even went even further. It was to so reduce the possibility of French defense of her borderland, that when Germany struck again France would not be in her way.

There are three essential elements in waging war; men, money, material. Germany has proven that she has the material, particularly if she is permitted to retain Lorraine. Money, in a sense, can be dispensed with by any nation at war which is not engaged in foreign trade, since dealing with one's self does not involve international exchange, and a piece of paper run through a government printing press can be made to pass as currency, locally, just as well as a piece of metal. As to the question of men, Germany has lost heavily in the present war, and will lose still more heavily before it is ended. Where, then, you may ask will Germany obtain sufficient men to insure a victory, if she launches a new battle in Europe. It is almost needless to say that Germany has carefully considered this side of the question. Germany has Austria completely in her debt by selling her coal and steel which were stolen from the mines of France and of Belgium, and through this economic grip, Germany has complete domination over the Austrian state. The relation of Turkey to Germany is notorious; the Turks are a conquered people, conquered in soul and in body by the tyranny of the Kaiser. They have no independence of plan or of thought; they are merely slaves. In Turkey there is a population of about 20 million, undisciplined, unorganized, unequipped, but innately possessed of good fighting ability. From this force Germany can in one

generation produce a trained, organized army of at least 2 million men. To this number Bulgaria will add a million more, bringing the number of German trained soldiers east of Serbia to 2½ million. It is to make use of this force that Germany has destroyed Serbia and built for herself alone the bridge which spans the gap between the Teutonic Empire and her near Eastern allies. The recent arrangements with Russia, if these be allowed to stand, give to Germany practical control of Ukraine, Russian Poland, Courland, Lithuania, which combined, contain a population of at least 50 million people. In the course of time, these people can be moulded and fashioned just as Germany has done with her own population, and to a considerable extent become in the next 25 years available for German use. This country alone can produce 3 million soldiers.

But Germany has gone much further even than this, and has taken drastic measures to rebuild her own population. First, consider Belgium. The men who have been deported from Belgium will never return if Germany can prevent it. Rather, they will either voluntarily, or through compulsion, form a liaison of some sort, legitimate or illegitimate, with some of the surplus women population of Germany, and in time produce off-spring who will eventually be available for the so-called defense of the Fatherland. There is, in addition, the systematic and authorized, if not indeed, ordered, ravishing of the women of Belgium and of France, and the sending of the off-spring from this beastial debauchery back into Germany, where they are reared in German-institutions for exactly the same purpose.

But Germany has gone one step further even than this; not content with debauching the women of other countries, she has even advocated debauching her own. There is the question of a lateral marriage, so-called, or secondary marriage, by which a married man enters into a temporary arrangement with a married woman, by which the two co-habit until a child is born. The off-spring of these marriages, so-called, bear the name of their Mother, and are handed over to the care of the state to be reared. This is not rumor. Let me read you first from a copy of a leaflet widely distributed and circulated among the soldiers at the front, with the consent and active coöperation of the German officers.

"Soldiers, a grave danger assails the Fatherland by reason of its dwindling birth-rate. The cradles of Germany are empty to-day; it is your duty to see that they are filled. You bachelors, when your leave comes, marry at once the girls of your choice. Make her your wife without delay. The Fatherland needs healthy

children. You married men and your wives should put jealousy from your minds, and consider whether you have not also a duty to the Fatherland. You should consider whether you may not honorably contract an alliance with one of the million of bachelor women. See if your wife will not sanction the relation. Remember, all of you, the empty cradles of Germany must be filled."

And on this same subject, permit me to read a copy of a circular which is one of the many taken from German prisoners, captured by the British during the last two years. I might say that the copy which I obtained, was given to me by a member of the British Intelligence Department, a major in the British Army, who, himself, took it from a German prisoner at Ypres.

"On account of all able bodied men having been called to the colors, it remains the duty of all those left behind, for the sake of the Fatherland, to interest themselves in the happiness and health of the married women and maidens by doubling or even trebling the births. Your name has been given us as a capable man, and you are herewith requested to take on this office of honor, and to do your duty in a proper German way. It must here be pointed out that your wife or fiancée will not be able to claim a divorce. It is, in fact, hoped that the women will bear this discomfort heroically for the sake of the war. You will be given the district of . Should you not feel capable of carrying on the task allotted to you, you will be given three days in which to name some one in your place. On the other hand, if you are prepared to take on a second district as well, you will become 'vrek-offizier' and receive a pension. An exhibition of photographs of women and maidens in the district allotted to you is to be seen at the office of . You are requested to bring this letter with you. Your good work should begin immediately. A full report of results to be submitted by you after nine months."

Proof, too, that these instructions are being carried out is abundant. We may disregard, if we are so inclined, the testimony of returned travelers; we cannot ignore the fact that the number of illegitimate births during 1917 showed an increase of 25 per cent. over 1916. Again, there is a tremendous effort being exerted by the German Government to bring together unmarried women, or women who were widowed through the war, so as to increase the population. The Burgomasters of the various German towns have been instructed to obtain a list of all

war widows in the district presided over by them; a list of all cripples being furnished by the authorities. Advertisements are then to be placed in papers known to be read by women generally, for wives of the deserving cripples. Thus playing the roll of Cupid, this beneficent government is trying to bring together Venus and Adonis, and as is stated in official instructions, sow the seed of a new generation, which will, in the fullness of its manhood, take upon its shoulders the national defense. All this question of population may then be summed up by the statement, that if Germany carries out her present plans, even by sacrificing all that she has won in Belgium and in France, she will still have at her command, a population of two hundred million people from which between 15 and 20 million soldiers can be obtained. Germany, her territory unscathed by the present war, will rapidly recover from its effect, while her continental enemies, so bitterly ravished by war sweep, will lag far behind in the process of regeneration. Under these conditions, the mobilization of her man power and that of her vassal allies will place an overwhelming army, all German trained and German equipped, under the German command, to be thrown against her weakened adversaries in Europe. This time the Germans plan the struggle is to be short. There will be no miscalculations; no Marne, no Verdun. Then will the real German aim, not Hamburg-Bagdad but Calais-Bagdad, be achieved. The German system will be spread into this continent, all over the colonies of her present enemies, deep into the near and far East, and out of the present war will have sprung the world-power of which the Pan-German league has been dreaming since 1870, and of which Bernhardi wrote in 1912. There are many who, preaching a propaganda plainly labelled "made in Germany," would have us believe that if Germany wins this war in Europe we are in no danger. They point to the so-called traditional friendship which Germany has had for America as proof of her good intentions, and that any hard feeling that has apparently been engendered through this war is purely temporary. This doctrine is not only the most wicked folly, but is the most outrageous misstatement of facts. There has been no good feeling in Germany for America. Let us not forget that the Monroe Doctrine was our first answer to Prussian aggression on the American Continent, and that this Doctrine was levelled first and primarily against Prussia. This Prussia has always resented, since it interfered with her efforts to stop the growth of Republican sentiment throughout the world. Since that time we have had many instances of German hostility. We know full well, if we but reflect, what Germany attempted to do in the Spanish-American War. First, there was her attempt to line up against

us a European coalition; either to take active steps against us if we declared war on Spain or to prevent us from making such declaration. The incident of Manila Bay, when Admiral Dewey was forced into the position of practically declaring war on the German fleet, is now authenticated history. The action of Germany in the Venezuela case, when Theodore Roosevelt was President, is fully recorded by the late Secretary of State, John Hay, and while speaking of Mr. Hay, I would mention one statement contained in his Memoirs, as a result of his observance in China. "I would rather," he said, "be the foot-stool of China than the playmate of the Kaiser." Finally, there cannot be the slightest doubt of what Germany's intentions would be on this continent, in case this war ended in a manner which would leave her the power to put into execution her plans for world dominion.

This is the true German menace, and in order that it may be averted there is imposed upon us the present duty of carrying the war to a victorious conclusion, though it take two, ten or twenty years. This means suffering, privation, sacrifice on a scale not even dreamed of in this country, and in order that the country will stand without flinching the burden it will have to carry, the way must be prepared by intelligent education. We have two evils to combat—pacifism with its selfish, snug, materialistic idealism, and that other idealism which is engaged in the useless task of lifting the war out of the realm of fact and placing it amidst the clouds of lofty but untrue sentiment.

Strange as it may seem, the gospel of pacifism, this immoral gospel with "business is business" as its text, is still being preached indiscriminately, without let or without hindrance. It has established a party, a cult, justifying itself in a fad which it has called humanity, and has set this above and against patriotic inclination and national duty. It has kept dangling constantly before our eyes our tradition—a policy of freedom from entangling alliances, of America for Americans and Europe for Europeans, so that the mercenary, the mean of spirit, the barren of souls, pleads the hypocrisy of uplift and joyfully sings—"I did not raise my boy to be a soldier." This group of addlepated men, embracing in its folds its Amos Pinchots, its Morris Hilquits, its Victor Bergers, are advocating a peace without victory, a return to the status quo ante, without annexations, without indemnities.

Where would such a step lead? Let us suppose the most favorable outcome—a return to the status quo ante—a restoration of the situation out of which grew the present war. He would be more than a sentimental idealist, he would be a fool, who having seen a certain result spring from a certain cause or status,

would deny that the same cause or status would again produce the same result.

Germany, Russia has shown us, is still treacherous, still practising deceit, still lying nationally, individually, collectively, without compunction and without remorse. She is still the same Germany who invaded Belgium in spite of existing treaties, the same Germany who burned and pillaged and murdered at every point touched by the army in 1914, the same Germany who violated the neutrality of Luxemburg, who destroyed Serbia and who turned Northeastern France into a desert waste during the early spring of 1917. She is not chastened; spiritually the war has not touched her. She is still the arrogant, blustering Junker-ridden Germany, who is determined to win the war at any cost. Will all this be made right, will this hideous philosophy be stamped out, will Germany and the German be humanized through the act of some official in signing his name to a bit of parchment and affixing thereto the seal of the German state? Who is there—aside from the pacifist—so fatuous as to believe it? It is not so simple. There can be but one answer—the treaty of peace between the Allies and Germany must be such that even though Germany may break it, the power to do evil through the breach will not exist. There must be no peace without victory.

As regards the other idealism which I have mentioned, I would first bring to your mind the character of our population—this conglomerate heterogeneous mass which constitute the American people. There are literally millions who speak a foreign tongue—millions who understand little about our underlying principles of government and who care less. These people must be reached and educated by a propaganda which will educate and which will line them up squarely behind our war aims and give them the willingness and the courage to suffer and sacrifice that these aims may be achieved. They must learn first of all why we are in the war; why this great peace-loving country of ours has cast aside all of its traditions and is sending its sons to fight and die in France. Have they been told? Has the elemental fact of self-defense been taught to them? If not, what have our propaganda workers been doing? There are thousands of our draft army who to-day, after a year at war, have not the slightest idea why we declared war on Germany. We did not declare war for democracy nor to confer its benefits upon the German people, nor for humanity, nor for civilization. These may be among the things we are fighting for but these did not lead us to a declaration of war. Stripped of its fancy, our cause stands out clearly—righteous self-defense. Utterly regardless of the stake or issue, we tried to make ourselves feel that our position of distance and

detachment would enable us to keep clear of the European cataclysm, but beginning with the sinking of the *Lusitania,* Germany steadily brought the war nearer and nearer to our shores. We saw our treaties broken, our ships sunk in violation of the law of nations, our citizens in the legitimate exercise of their calling, brutally murdered with all the savagery of an Attila. Plots and counter-plots were laid against us; German gold flowed like polluted water among us and among our neighbors, bribing, corrupting, debauching. Slowly but surely the way was being paved for an attack on the Monroe Doctrine and an invasion of defenseless America. If this war ended with America still neutral, Germany would have the guns and we would have the money and she would send her guns to get it.

Devoid of any of the finer sentiments which actuate mankind, Germany recognizes but one plea—brute force—the right of might. We know what that might mean to us. Once the Hun landed on our coasts, it would be but a short time before our cities would be in flames, our citizens in terror, our women turned into the playthings of beasts even as they wailed for their butchered dead. Germany, her hands still reeking with the blood of martyred Belgium and of ravished France, would tear our heart strings, and the Connecticut, the Susquehanna and the Potomac would run to the sea as crimsoned with the blood of her victims, as did the Lys, the Moselle and the Oise in 1914. These were the things we suffered and the pictures we saw, and to protect ourselves we declared war. The pro-German may cry Wall Street, the pacifist humanity, the idealist democracy. But if these were the propelling motives, we must acknowledge ourselves to be the smallest visioned, the most narrow-minded, the most thick-headed people in the world to-day. War broke out in August, 1914. Were these things injected into the war only in April, 1917? Was not democracy threatened, humanity attacked, civilization outraged, when Germany first marched through Belgium, putting her cities to the torch and turning the mailed fist of her soldiery against innocent children and defenseless women? If we are waging war against Autocracy, why do we only now declare war on Austria, why have we not declared war on Bulgaria and Turkey? No, we declared war for the highest of human motives, self-defense, the defense of our homes, of our women, of our country's flag, of our nation's honor. And surely the defense of these against a cruel unscrupulous aggressor is enough for any man in whose soul there is even a glimmer of decency and right to fight for. It is useless then, because unnecessary, and food-hardy because dangerous, to cloud an issue already so clear and so simple with a plethora of words

which destroy the substance and substitute therefor only an intangibility which no one understands.

Again, we are told that this war is something with which the German people have nothing to do. Indeed, our national propaganda has been directed towards disseminating this dangerous fallacy. Only recently, while loyal Americans were directing their efforts to having German influences stamped out of our schools, in order that the youth of our country might not be contaminated with the immorality and rottenness of German philosophy, widespread publicity was given to a defense of German kultur and of this philosophy, which defense was in the form of a plea that we were not at war with Germany but with the German Government and German militarism. Will we never learn? Are we to wander aimlessly through this war, our national consciousness rocked in the cradle of silly sentimentality while sung to sleep by the lullaby of the socialist and the pacifist? Germany has drawn into her military service since the war began at least ten million men. Is this not an army of the German people? Are not the actions of that army indicative of what lies beneath the veneer of the people themselves? We know the record of that army, how it ravished and pillaged and raped—how it violated the sanctity of every home, every law of God or of man—contaminating whatever it touched. Did this army do all this because it was foreign to its nature?

But you might say this army and the German people themselves have been deceived into believing that they are all fighting for self-defense—that they are a quiet simple home-loving folk, who want only to sit by their fireside, sip their beer and play with their children. We are asked to believe that they are in sympathy with the war only because they have been misled by their wicked overlords and that as soon as their eyes are opened they will cast off the shackles which bind them and join the ranks of the world's civilization. I may be wrong in condemning a whole nation of 70 million people, I hope I am, but as I see it this idea of the German people is basically, fundamentally wrong, that in spite of the sporadic outbursts of civilized genius such as marked Schiller, Goethe, Wagner and Beethoven, they are still barbarians, still gross materialists who greedily regard any act not from its moral nature but only from the possible profit involved. Let us see what happened in Russia. In the subsequent action of both Germany and Austria we have been given an excellent picture of the attitude of these powers that has completely dispelled the myth as to the hostility of the proletariat towards the leaders. Although Germany, we are told, is waging a war of self-defense, although she desires nothing more

than peace and the right to continue to live on terms of peace and amity with her international neighbors, when Russia, naked before her attacks, offered peace on a basis which left Germany with enormous conquest, did Germany acquiese in Russia's request for peace? Did her population, fighting only in self-defense, be it remembered, rise up and demand that this war of conquest cease? On the contrary. Both the German and the Austrian populations, although hearing the appeal of the Russian Bolsheviki, nevertheless submitted to the renewal of war on Russia. They knew that Russia was not fighting, that she had announced a state of peace and did not even offer resistance to the invasion. But without a murmur these people stood still and watched. They saw only a new gain, a new and rich land unguarded, theirs for the asking. They saw their greedy leaders stretch out their hands and take—and they applauded the taking. It was the profit which appealed, regardless of how it was obtained.

If the German people are tired of this war it is not through any spiritual change; it is not through condemnation of the fact that war is being waged simply through the desire of their leaders for power. It is through weariness of hunger, and privation, it is because they were prosperous well-fed peasants before, and now find themselves hungry, without sufficient clothing, and without the other creature comforts to which they have been accustomed. They have no sense of moral values, and, if the war should end now, it would leave them just as they were before, ready and willing to engage in war again when ordered to do so by him whom they recognize as having the power to order. Of this their inactivity in the case of Russia is the proof.

And if we would go further, let us see the trend of thought in Germany since 1870. Since that year we have seen grow up in Germany a school of philosophy which preached kultur through militarism. For the past thirty years every professor in every German university, every teacher in every German school, every preacher in every German pulpit, has been preaching and teaching the superiority of the German over all other peoples of the world and of the singleness of intent and purpose of God and the war lord. And the German people believe it, think it, and glory in it. Have we not seen the visible proof? Their souls are shriveled and shrunken, honor is a word without meaning, decency, chivalry, anarchronisms. And it is these people who, as the American Ambassador has testified, taught their young to torture prisoners—and these prisoners were sons of Canada—who saw in the frightful massacre of the *Lusitania* only an occasion for a German holiday. These are the people—the kind,

simple, gentle folk—in whom we are to place our faith when the Kaiser and his misbegotten sons have been removed from power. If we wish to end this war in such a way as to minimize the chances of the next, it is to the German people themselves that we must carry the fight; it is they who must be defeated if we would make a peace rather than a truce.

The crimes that have been committed have not been those of government alone—the people themselves must share the responsibility, and the German people must pay. It is immaterial to the Allies whether the German Government repudiates the debt secured by domestically owned bonds. It is material that the debt to Belgium, to France, to Serbia, be repaid to the last farthing, and this debt can be repaid only through the sweat of the German brow, drawn out through labor not for love nor for gain but in expiation of the greatest crimes of which history contains a record.

All this seems far from my subject. It is in fact most intimately connected with it. If we are to fight this war to a finish, we must know and realize the truth, we must know why and whom we are fighting, so that we may have the courage to continue.

America must realize, unless she is a liar and a hypocrite, a whited sepulchre in whom there is no jot nor tittle of honor, that among nations Germany is a lecherous leper; that she fouled her own nest and violated her own honor when she crossed the Belgian frontier; that she played the rôle of the savage and the beast in her subsequent treatment of Belgium; that her action in France was an illegal, unjustified vandalism; that on the high seas her submarine campaign has been a campaign of murderous butchery; that there is not a covenant of the Hague Convention or of any other international body to which Germany was signatory that has not been deliberately, wantonly broken; in short, that Germany is a covetous, lust-filled beast trying to tear the world to pieces that it may gorge itself on the flesh of civilization, that Germany is the barbaric atheist, recognizing no God, no power but that of the brute, trying to raze the citadels of Christianity that she may erect on the altar of the Church of Christ the monstrous idol of her own materialistic ambition—a world dominion.

We must realize that we are fighting a war of self-defense—all of us alike—the defense of our women, our babies—of future generations, of Christianity, of civilization itself. We have put our hands to the plow and we shall not turn back. We shall not permit the war to end until the Allies are victorious—until Germany and the German people are beaten. We took up arms

to destroy the hell of savagery, of cruelty, of barbaric bestiality—that Germany had turned loose upon the world. Until these are destroyed, until there is beaten into the dull sensibility of every German mind and burned into every German heart the doctrine that right and right alone makes for might, until egotism, materialism and the righteousness of brute force are stamped out of the German philosophy, there shall be no peace.

Woe to that statesman of Europe, of Canada, or of America, who, yielding to a false opportunistic idealism, consents, in the name of his country to a peace which compromises but does not settle, which compounds every form of felony, which leaves alive, unscotched and unimpaired, the false brutal philosophy of Bismarck, which only perpetuates the power of the swashbuckler and the Junker and their ability to tear again the heart-strings of Christianity and the vitals of civilization. That man will have launched a curse upon future generations more terrible than the curse of Cain. He will have carved for himself, a niche deep down in the hell of traitors so deep that it has never been reached by but one man—in the life of the world—Judas Iscariot, who also betrayed the Son of God. Beside him who betrayed the Nazarene that man must also take his place.

The present and future safety of Europe and of the American continent demands that the means, the power and the ability to wage war be forever removed from Germany and from all things German—from the quiet beer drinker of Munich as thoroughly as from the war lord of the Wilhelm-Strasse whose hands and whose soul are already dyed red with millions of Europe's dead; for this, gentlemen, are calling our women who are suffering, our babies who are being made fatherless, our liberties which we cherish, our God whom we worship—and by that God we must answer.